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IDENTITY CHARACTERISTICS OF SEVENTH THROUGH  
TWELFTH GRADE THIRD CULTURE DEPENDENTS  
AT CAIRO AMERICAN COLLEGE, EGYPT

presented by

Alya Sevil Delin

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IDENTITY CHARACTERISTICS OF SEVENTH THROUGH  
TWELFTH GRADE THIRD CULTURE DEPENDENTS  
AT CAIRO AMERICAN COLLEGE, EGYPT

By  
Ayla Sevil Delin

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to  
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## **ABSTRACT**

### **IDENTITY CHARACTERISTICS OF SEVENTH THROUGH TWELFTH GRADE THIRD CULTURE DEPENDENTS AT CAIRO AMERICAN COLLEGE**

**BY**

**AYLA SEVIL DELIN**

**This study of the characteristics of third culture dependent youth is aimed at exploring unique self and social identities of internationally-mobile youth. Third culture is defined as the life style, norms and expectations which emerge when individuals from different societies interact with each other in the process of relating societies to each other. Youths' perceptions of relations, such as mobile community characteristics, host national culture and its impact, educational norms of the school, peer and family relations, and their self conception, constitute their identities.**

**A qualitative field research method was used for study investigation. Nationality backgrounds, sex differences, and parental occupational affiliations constituted the independent variables. Third cultures as expatriate communities are organized around a common interactional purpose and need, with professional and occupational**

representation. Enclaves are homogeneous in outward appearance, yet, diversified by nationality backgrounds, affiliations, and residency.

Findings of study are two fold; firstly, identity characteristics of Third Culture Children are dynamic and complex in their relational patterns; parental representational norms and roles, reciprocity between international community and host culture, diversified nature of peer relations, future aspirations, all grow out of their mobile life style. Similarities in identities among the youth as defined far exceed differences along independent variables. Peer relations and conceptualization of "home" constitute the major discontinuity; whereas life style, family relations, and schooling constitute continuities of identity. In their, ways of coping with up-rootedness, is rootedness.

Secondly, a new and unique dependent culture in Cairo has emerged during the course of the study. Technically highly specialized, first time overseas groups emerged as the new "Technical Third Cultures." Youths in this group share identities growing out of their particular national frame, and less out of international mobility. "Technical Third Culture" youth add a new dynamic to the complexities of the existing third cultures, and their community, school and peer relations, along with the interactional patterns with host national peoples and cultures.

DEDICATION

TO MUZAFFER SEVIL

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CHAPTER I  
THE PROBLEM  
Introduction

The dominant features of today's panorama of the world are: (1) increased complexities of human interaction; (2) increased complexities of cultural interaction; (3) the globally-wide diffusion of identity and its culture-specific meaning; (4) increased technological advancement and its resultant characteristics in; (5) a war capability to the ultimate level of global human and material destruction. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, are the increased complexities of the problems of the human condition. Global socio-political conflicts and their resultant aggressions, population increases, problems of food and energy resources, environmental protection against technological destruction; all will no longer be removed by the restrictions put upon the human condition by their own cultural ethos, and ideological hiding behind nuclear capabilities. The answers to the above features and problems of today's world rest in the human condition and its qualities themselves. "In our time the globe has become enriched by an expanding grid of organizations and associations cutting across boundaries of national systems" (Anderson,

1968:3). Economic expansion and increased technical knowledge have affected global interaction systems from individual to national levels. "Fundamental, political, economic and technological changes have resulted in the interdependence of nations" (Bradley, 1978). This interdependence and its resultant increased "unity" and "wholeness" (Anderson, 1968) brought humans, their cultures and nations closer to each other, forming a "world interactional system" (Anderson, 1968), rather than a collection of separate entities of human cultures and nations.

This complex system of global relations currently is "multilateral" in nature, in contrast to the "bilateral," which dominated during the period after World War II. Economists, physicists, public relations specialists, business and technical experts of all fields are joined in this venture of global interactions (Alger, 1965).

There is one underlying principle of change within the interactional patterns of global-age world system. It is the humanization factor. This factor, and its importance, emphasized by Chand (1979), Anderson (1968), Coelho (1980), J. Useem (1963) and numerous others over the last 15-20 years of human history, are probably the most influencing determining factors for the purpose of this research undertaking. Briefly, during social science's involvement

and participation in analyzing the political interactions of nations over the last two decades, surfaced the following concept: both the success, and (mostly) failure of international diplomatic relations of the post World War II era in the ideological attempt to bring modernity and development through economic change, was due to the success or (mostly) failure of human interactions, communications, understanding, trust and respect; rather than economics or politics as such. This reality of failure brought the social sciences into a theoretical analysis and consideration of international relations. The following short summary of these considerations is presented in an effort to establish the "meaning" on which this research is based.

Each cultural or national entity is driven by two interlocking forces: one is external and includes the goals and resources of the group directed toward its external relations; the second is the unique perception of the circumstances within which each group or culture comprehends and justifies its existence. Global age experiences exist within greater overlappings among cultures and nations in regard to these forces. This analysis interdependently relates to another analysis, in that human conditions specific to disparate cultures cannot be explained and understood by global social science terminology. There are underlying causes of human behavior which are culture bound, and can be explained in "isomorphic attributions" (Triandis, 1975). To understand another person's culture,

one has to understand "the content," which is the way a particular behavior is defined, and "the structure," which is the perceptions and cognitions of the situations in which one is interacting (Triandis, 1975).

The above two theoretical considerations should be viewed as part of the complexity of the global age and its meaning. ". . .Man's capacity for decent behavior seems to vary directly with his perceptions of others as individual humans, with human motives and feelings, whereas his capacity for barbarism seems related to his perception of an adversary in abstract terms, as the embodiment, that is, of some evil design or ideology" (Guthrie, 1975).

In psychological terms, this capacity of the global age person is the consciousness of world awareness. The reference group is humankind sharing and feeling a part of the world's problems (Sampson, 1957). The new, psychological analysis of cultural behavior emphasizes a broadening need in perception and cognition of humans, whereby there is a gradual inclusion of recognition of existence of humans in other cultures. This expansion of cognition will have to be culture free in terms of "value" definitions. Perceptions will have to include defining of culture differences as differences, and accepting them without attaching culture-bound morals and values. Global age interactions are more open and communications are mass, thus, enabling such conducive grounds for new kinds of perceptions. The increase in regional organizations and

political unities, gives us clear examples of how better understanding of other cultures' behavioral meanings result in greater cooperation in social and economic affairs, regionally.

World interactions have increasingly become verbal, and mass communications carry these to all masses. These interactions are not at a level of diplomacy but are values, judgments and active considerations of all men, regardless of their cultural and political disparity. Increased tension and conflict levels, discontent, and a search for better bargaining in the direction of national interests, are the result. It is not the diplomacy of politics but diplomats and policy makers that are judged against national needs, desires and goals. Park (1928) observed the "detachment" of man from one culture as "emancipation". If this can be regarded as a growth in human evolvement, its significance and complexity cannot be underestimated. Therefore, the whole socialization process of becoming a "social being" has to be reconsidered within the context. This process is a new, emerging expansion in the human condition. Therefore, it may not be treated, explained, and defined within the context of existing paradigms in social sciences.

The human is remaking itself toward a truly international being. Global age man should: (1) be realistic toward self; (2) have positive attitudes toward mankind; (3) have a generally positive outlook about life; (4) be an



independent thinker; (5) perceive reality realistically, and (6) be able to master his environment despite changes. Such are the mental health criteria laid out by Klineberg (1966). This is only one example of those writers in the social sciences who are emphasizing new conditions and considerations of a new kind of human. Meanwhile, some others define their role in international relations, as members of multinational business ventures, as a "mediator" and "third culture man" in cross-cultural business effectiveness (Chand, 1979). Others deal with its educational implications (Anderson, 1968) (Chand, 1979).

The above are only a sample of the range of theoretical involvement and consciousness. Considerations are new and implications are future oriented, but the significance is in the present.

### Statement of the Problem

The above summary of the global nature of the world's interdependence and emerging recognition of the importance of the human factor raises a very current theoretical consideration. The human at no time in history has been studied within this context. Its new consideration is limited by paradigms, definitions, descriptions and variables not specifically designed for its explanation. Human behavior, cognitions, personality traits and the whole underlying socialization patterns are only definable intra-culturally. The literature of the social sciences is

full of new dimensions and considerations toward better understanding of the nature of emerging global man. However, there are more questions raised than answers found. It is, of course, exciting for the sciences to be at this stage in relation to defining global man. It is imbedded within the questioning of the relevance of traditional definitions of humans, for an explanation of current world interactional patterns, that the future's theoretical base can be established.

This researcher believes that new paradigms and concepts are necessary. Every scientific theory or paradigm emerges within the social context of its time in history and is, therefore, relevant and applicable within that context. All human conditions, and their social contexts at all times cannot be defined by paradigms developed in one moment of history. This is the time in history for new considerations pertaining to the meanings behind the behavior of the global human. The global human is emerging along with his/her theoretical considerations. This co-emergence opens a global stage for new theoretical legitimation and has its strengths and limitations. Its strengths exist within the dynamism of the historical era of the present. This dynamism and vitality is multifaceted in terms of all considerations of the post-modern human condition. Its limitations also exist within that dynamism, in that, its immediacy opens wide considerations and speculations which are in themselves not limiting, but have

a delaying effect on theory building.

In summary:

1. Global interdependence and the significance of the human factor will remain as the emerging future history of humankind.
2. The overwhelming stresses created globally as a result of intercultural misunderstandings and mistrust have a growing potential for global destruction.
3. Greater understanding, acceptance of cultural variations and trust are possible through people who cross cultures and participate in the lives of others, to the extent that is possible.
4. It is within the understanding and the definition of third culture people that future inter-cultural theoretical considerations can be made. Meaningful and constructive mediation among cultures is the key toward peaceful global co-existence.

The above summary of the state of affairs in international relations and the following section on the state of affairs in international education are presented for the purpose of providing a background for understanding the specific problem dealt with in this study and its implications for social sciences.

### International Education

Schooling, for internationally mobile children, is a significant and very important aspect of their international living. Types of schools available, their characteristics and size will be presented a little later in this section. First, however, some theoretical background discussion of the state of their affairs will be useful in order to understand their position and place. International education should be defined within the context of teaching new generations to understand the world and of developing an educational system conducive to the already existing global world. The objectives of international education according to Anderson (1968):

- a) object of global understanding; in terms of; physical environment, demography and social structure,
- b) dimensions of global understanding; in terms of; worldmindedness, critical discriminatory thinking, coping with change and diversity, and coping with the realities of the human condition.

Furthermore, international education of today should be equipped to prepare the adults of the 21st century (Anderson, 1968). Chand (1979), believes that national schools of all countries with their nationalistic goals have not aimed at educating a new type of post modern man. On the other hand, Chand contends that existing inter-

national schools contain a built-in discrepancy between claimed intentions and actual output and performance toward this goal of educating post-modern man. One example of such international schools observed by Useem and Downie (1976) are the American-sponsored overseas schools. According to the authors, such schools represent continuity for the child whose school attendance is as mobile as his life style. This continuity is in their modified American-type education, physical similarities, culture backgrounds of staff and student body, and educational objectives.

The authors further observe that these schools place heavy emphasis on academic performance. Aiming at college preparation, they offer enrichment courses in local language and culture. Their stated purpose is to prepare American youth to reenter American society. Brooks (1961) in reporting the result of a 1960 conference of overseas schools in Asia, states a dual function of international schools:

1. more effective parental participation in multi-national programs
2. a unique laboratory for international education and understanding.

Dunbar (1961) observes that overseas schools have a potential for building bridges between cultures and treating the world as part of the school campus with a resultant hope for more mediating potentials. The American Association of School Administrators (1971) reports that

American schools abroad should be a source for the training of future mediators. The source, they feel, is great in the development of cultural interchange, understanding and effective communication.

Commenting on the significance of international education, Bohannon (1972) emphasizes the building of a new educational system based on micro-local cultures and macro-world system cultures. In the world system, cultural interactions are based on respect for differences without envy and fear. International education, therefore, should develop strong self awareness at an individual level, to be effective within that interactional pattern. This self awareness of humankind, includes the ability to accept, cope and benefit from cultural diversity; to communicate clearly; and to interact constructively within cultural diversities. Kelly (1973) emphasizes the un-official position of the overseas American schools, combined with their significant presence and role in international diplomacy and cultural exchange. Given this position, Kelly finds a lack of concrete philosophy, definition and direction governing such schools at present. Others like Kelly do agree on the lack of concrete conceptualization in international education. However, the schools do exist, and the statistical information provided shortly in this chapter speak for the size and complexity of the problem.

Internationally mobile people and their dependents comprise a complex but dynamic phenomenon for social

science inquiries. The schooling of international dependent youth is only one aspect of this complexity. It is clear from the above summary of the related literature that many educators and other social scientists are looking into the state of affairs in international education but the angles of approach and concerns are as varied as the general topic. Here, a small attempt was made to capture the most commonly expressed generalities and attitudes, which bring with them a need for more research and conceptualization. International education is currently carried out by various types of institutions, with varying degrees of purpose and size.

One major commonality of international education is its availability. Any national family which makes a professional decision to move from its native country and culture, and ventures out into the world will find more likely than not, an excellent educational institution for their children wherever they may land.

As the availability is wide, so is the range of size. One room school houses are still as common as the multinational, large institutions. This same wide range is further true for staff, facilities, equipment, etc. However, the education goes on. Regardless of the stated purpose, and goals, the development of children as world citizens is a fact.

As the numbers of dependent youth in overseas schools grow, so grow the questions raised in the fundamental

issues of multicultural education in an international setting. The European Council of International School's 1981 directory is the only source of all material found by this researcher on overseas schools, which refers to the "third culture" nature of the overseas schools' student body.

How did it all begin and reach this point in history is the content of the following section on the history of overseas schools.

#### History of the Overseas Schools

The ISS Directory of Overseas Schools, 1982/83 gives the following historical development of the existence of overseas schools:

The first overseas schools start with the 19th century European colonial period when these nations sent their military, administrative, missionary and other representatives to all parts of the world, and children went with parents. Naturally, a need for education for their children developed. Missionary groups were some of the first who responded to the need for dependent education. In other locations, military and mission cooperation resulted in the operation of schools for such communities. Overseas schools were first established because of parental concern. Until World War II European and North American business and trade representatives in major cities in the world, therefore, had schools for their children. These schools



responded to the need of such nationals in meeting their own national educational expectations.

As the size and character of international communities expanded and changed, early attempts were made to develop schools with "English" as a language of instruction to meet the already enlarging American overseas involvement. This new expansion mushroomed after World War II with new increases in all sectors of private and public business, government and military interests.

This increase in people living and working in countries and cultures other than their own demanded an increase in schooling for their dependents. Parents instigated schools, and company schools increased in all sizes all over the world. This early expansion was primarily based on private efforts of disparate parents and concerned citizens, operating in make-shift classrooms, with inadequate staff and materials. But, persistency, and demand maintained their existence. Today, those humble beginnings have developed into internationally highly competitive educational institutions. Most overseas schools of today offer education comparable or superior to most national educational systems. In addition, local cultural and language experiences have emphasized cross-cultural learning enrichment.

Looking to the future, ISS emphasizes that "They will be unique institutions which can offer learning opportunities, crossing political and cultural boundaries,

leading to goals of greater human understanding and meaningful personal interactions (ISS Directory, 1982 xiv).

### Types of Overseas Schools

The types of overseas schools can be grouped in the following categories:

1. International Schools: Defined as such, largely due to student enrollment and teaching staff, have developed since World War II with mostly American-type academic curriculum and English as the medium of instruction.

2. Company Schools: Established to meet the educational needs of the children of a given international company. Most such schools are at elementary levels.

3. Department of Defense Dependent Schools: The U.S. military service dependent schools have been in operation since 1916. A basic educational program equivalent to American general education is offered. They constitute the single largest overseas school system in all the categories.

4. Church-related Missionary Schools: Together these comprise one of the largest categories of overseas schools. In many remote parts of the world, these are the only schools available to overseas residents and locals alike.

5. Parent Operated Schools: Cutting across some of the groups listed above, these schools operate on a small scale wherever any other meaningful school is not

available.

The following is the statistical picture of the State of Affairs in Overseas Schools.

### The Purpose of Overseas Schools

Generally, overseas schools seek:

1. To provide education for the internationally mobile dependent children, wherever local educational facilities are not legally provided, are insufficient or are inadequate.
2. To provide an educational and socio-cultural atmosphere for preparation of national youth for re-entry to their cultures for further education.
3. To provide demonstration of the sponsoring systems' educational philosophy, and practice abroad, to help further international understanding.

In addition to the above commonalities of purpose:

4. Each type of overseas school seeks to accomplish a philosophy of education for its dependent youth on the basis of its work-related community affiliation.

The preceding section on the size and complexity of the internationally mobile community and the analysis of the dependent childrens' education, open a significant field of social scientific inquiry. Aspects of this potential inquiry are as dynamic, and complex, as the dynamism and

Table 1. Statistics Concerning American-Sponsored  
Overseas Schools, 1981-82

Number of Schools	PROFESSIONAL STAFF				Total	REGION of Countries	STUDENT ENROLLMENT						Total
	Full High Schools	U.S. Country	Host Country	Third Country			U.S. Govt.	U.S. Bus. & Found.	Other U.S.	Host Country	Third Country		
37	9	473	60	471	1,004	AFRICA	31	1,076	628	591	1,943	6,981	11,219
50	44	1,375	1,517	190	3,082	AMERICAN	20	1,020	2,417	3,605	25,901	6,115	39,058
39	20	897	283	301	1,481	EUROPE	21	1,856	2,708	1,675	2,989	5,031	14,258
18	7	896	131	139	1,166	NEAR EAST & SOUTH ASIA	13	1,437	3,285	1,551	645	4,077	10,995
21	10	681	337	163	1,181	EAST ASIA	11	1,126	3,309	1,611	1,286	5,615	12,947
165	90	4,322	2,328	1,264	7,914	TOTALS	96	6,515	12,347	9,033	32,764	27,819	88,478

A/OS  
1981-82

Table 2. Distribution of Overseas Schools  
Existing in 1982 by Date of Founding

Time Period	Total Number of Schools	Number of Schools Founded
PRE - 1900	10	10
1900 - 1900	26	16
1920 - 1939	47	21
1940 - 1959	160	113
1960 - 1964	211	51
1965 - 1969	242	31
1970 - 1974	270	28
1975 - 1979	302	32
POST - 1980	312	10

**Table 3. English Medium Overseas Schools  
1982 - 83 Academic Year**

	Number	% of Total
Private/ Non-Profit	229	69.6%
Company Sponsored	44	13.5%
Church Affiliated	39	11.8%
U.S. Government Sponsored	8	2.4%
Miscellaneous Sponsorship	9	2.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>329</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

**Note:** These figures exclude the U.S. Department of Defense Dependent Education System Overseas.

An additional 283 schools can be identified but without any analytical data available.

**Source:** ISS

Table 4. Overseas Schools Distribution of Teaching Staff

	Private Non-Profit	Company Sponsored	Church Affiliated	Misc. Affiliated	Total
Fulltime	7,631 85%	1,072 97%	984 81%	579 83%	10,266 85%
Parttime	1,349 15%	36 3%	234 19%	116 17%	1,735 16%
American National	3,982 48%	913 86%	705 63%	194 28%	5,794 52%
Non-American National	4,330 52%	146 14%	421 37%	487 72%	5,384 48%
Total Teaching Staff	8,980 100%	1,108 100%	1,218 100%	695 100%	12,001 100%

Note: The above data relate to the total of schools for which data are available.

Source: ISS

Table 5. Overseas Schools Enrollment by Nationality

	Private Non-Profit	Company Sponsored	Church Affiliated	Misc. Affiliated	Total
American	22,239 24.5%	864 29.1%	4,253 44.8	2,086 34.8%	29,442 26.9%
Host Country	27,070 40.8%	1,083 36.4%	1,867 19.7%	1,628 27.2%	41,648 38.1%
Other	31,624 34.7%	1,027 34.5%	3,369 35.5%	2,277 38.0%	38,297 35.0%
Total	90,933 100%	2,974 100%	9,489 100%	5,991 100%	109,387 100%

Note: Percentages should be given greater value than the numerical figures themselves, as many schools, company sponsored in particular, do not report enrollment by nationality.

Source: ISS



Table 6. Overseas Schools Enrollment by Grade Levels

	Private Non-Profit	Company Sponsored	Church Affiliated	Misc. Affiliated	Total
Kindergarten	8,293	843	788	920	10,844
1 - 6	48,815	5,111	4,584	3,204	61,714
7 - 9	21,236	3,316	2,963	1,760	29,275
10 - 12	20,576	167	3,033	2,025	25,801
Total	98,920	9,437	11,368	7,909	127,634

Table 6a. Enrollment Grades 7 - 12

Number	41,812	3,483	5,996	3,785	55,076
Percent of Total	42.3%	36.9%	52.7%	47.9%	43.2%

Source: ISS

complexity of the internationally mobile carriers of third cultures and their dependent youth.

Existing knowledge concerning third culture communities, their characteristics, and the characteristics of third culture youth, are very recent topics of inquiry in the history of social sciences. Awareness and consciousness among certain segments of social scientists do exist, and their number are growing. Presently, however, practically and theoretically, there are more questions than answers to fill in the gaps of knowledge.

Growing awareness that the human factor is significant in better international understanding and communication raises the major inquiry area of the particulars of that human factor vis-a-vis the international setting. Existing interdisciplinary knowledge and its terminology pertains to the more culture-bound definitions of the human condition, and its interactional characteristics.

The inquiries presently done are facing this theoretical complication and restriction. Global, post-modern man will be better understood through the emergence of wholly new paradigms and theoretical definitions, applicable to its life circumstance.

#### Purpose of the Study

The general purpose of this study is an attempt to identify, on a limited level, some characteristics of that global human. Thus, through it, it is our aim to

contribute considerations for future theory building.

The immediate purpose of the study is to explore and describe some identity characteristics of third culture overseas dependent 7-12 grade male/female students belonging to different nationalities and parental professional affiliations, attending the American-type International School in Cairo, Egypt.

This study is concerned with the identity characteristics which are shaped and created by dependent youth's experience of living in third culture communities located in other societies. The particular youths' views of themselves, interactional patterns with peers, family and community and the views of the peers, family and community, are the issues of the research project.

Applied and theoretical educational considerations of international schooling, as it is conceptualized and practiced in the American School in Cairo are an integral part of that purpose.

The identity characteristics to be studied in this research are integrative in two respects:

1. They are inclusive of the local relational patterns of this particular youth group, the international community and its characteristics, and the local culture, and its impact. Schooling, and its philosophical foundation, and most of all, the peer and family relations, are all part of that integral whole, shaping the identity of

international youth. It is significant to note here that the third cultures, and resultant identities of internationally-mobile youth, are basically originated within the relational patterns of their total interactions.

2. They are further inclusive of relevant interdisciplinary concerns and issues raised at this point in social science and its disciplines.

The above integrative approach requires a comprehensive and detailed analysis in its objective.

#### The Setting

The Arab Republic of Egypt, situated at the cross-roads of East and West, Africa and the Middle East, the Christian and Islamic Worlds, can be said today, with no exaggeration, to be one of the contemporary world's focal points of political, economic, and philosophical activity among the major powers and ideologies of mankind.

One quickly realizes how active is the world's involvement with Egypt on first arrival at Cairo's International Airport. Daily, dozens of the world's major flag carriers arrive and depart, bringing an ever-increasing number of foreign nationals to Egypt. North Americans, Asians, and Black Africans mingle and push through the baggage areas and customs clearance area, surrounded by even larger numbers of Egyptians and Arabs, in an unending stream of

humanity, coming to Egypt as one of today's center of the world's stage.

The hotel lobbies of Cairo continue the same image. Foreign experts consult with their Egyptian counterparts, diplomats await appointments with government representatives, dependent families, looking displaced and confused, wander aimlessly about, all in a colorful panorama of languages, clothing, physical variety, and cultural diversity.

The current Egyptian "phenomenon" can be traced to the creation by the late Egyptian President Anwar Sadat of the so-called "Open Door" of Egyptian economic and political policy. After 30 years of war and strife between Egypt and Israel, Sadat took the momentous decision in 1974 to reverse the policies of Egypt to that date which were based upon the state ownership and management of most productive sources, and open the doors of Egypt to foreign investment. His reasons were largely economic. The country had been bled dry by too many wars, too much destruction, and investment in future destruction. The state of the economy was in a crisis, and massive foreign aid was seen as the quickest road to a solution. Combined with this, Sadat vowed to make peace with Israel, again as a means of seeking a fast road to improvement of the state of his country. It resulted finally in the so-called "Camp David" accords between the two countries.

The Open Door and Camp David, in combination were the "tool" of Egypt which produced today's obsession with

Egypt, particularly in the West. Starting in 1975, American aid has been maintained at a level of nearly \$1 billion annually. By the attractive features of the Open Door, foreign investment, particularly American, has boomed. Today, more than 325 American business concerns have dealings and representation in Egypt; Germany and Japan are not far behind; and Hosni Mubarak, Sadat's successor to the Presidency, continues to expand Egypt's invitation to the world to assist in her development, and thereby profit therefrom.

A brief statistical summary can effectively present the current face of Egypt. Population as of February, 1981, stands at 43,000,000, with a growth rate of 2.9% annually. Only four percent of her land is under cultivation, and the density of population is 2,860 (only 15,000 square miles are inhabitable of a total of 1,002,000 square miles). Per capita GNP is \$550.00 (1980). Imports outstrip exports two to one, with a total foreign aid package of \$2 billion filling the gap, as well as making gradual improvements in the country. The United States alone accounts for 48% of Egypt's foreign aid. In relation to the U.S. Governments' allocation for international development, assistance to Egypt accounts for more than half of the total budget (Bradley, 1979:104).

Beyond economic aid, the military commitment of the West to Egypt has also become extremely large. While numbers of projects and staff are classified, it suffices

to say that one defense contract with Egypt for the military aircraft has placed so many personnel in Egypt that the dependent children of their staff alone number 100 at the Cairo American College this year.

Business and economic assistance activity bring with them large numbers of staff to administer their related activities. Beyond the private sector representation mentioned earlier, United States AID staff numbers 125, and related contractors, 300 personnel.

American personnel in Cairo indicate that the scale of international, and particularly American activity in Egypt has seen no equivalent previously, including the levels which were involved at the height of the Vietnam War. Statistics given elsewhere are only an approximation of the numbers of foreigners presently working in Egypt. When asked why better statistics are not available, American sources indicate that no time remains for such things given the volume of spending itself which requires the full time of all concerned. There is just too much money being spent to keep a count of who is spending it, let alone for what purposes.

Where the above situation will lead is most unclear, and in fact beyond the scope of this discussion. Suffice it to say, that few locations in the world exist today which reflect the contemporary multi-national, multi-cultural environment so totally as does Egypt. The recognition is in fact only beginning to take place in

Egypt that the needs for successful work in the field of international development and cooperation are much more complex than previously recognized. The United States government has now recognized the need for "employment of personnel with a set of professional qualifications distinct from those of other United States career officers." Further, "a continuing training and education of these employees to meet the changing demands of professional service, the international development process, and regular service abroad by employees responsible for the formulation of policy is needed" (Bradley, 1979:105).

#### Overview of the Remainder of the Study

Chapter II contains an exploratory review of the interdisciplinary literature on culture, third cultures and identity. Study findings on third culture children are also reviewed at the end of the chapter.

Chapter III contains the methodology used in this study, Chapter IV includes detailed descriptive presentation of the setting in which the study was conducted, including characteristics of the school setting in which third culture children attend. Chapter V examines in more detail the study findings and their analysis, in terms of identity characteristics of third culture children and the emerging characteristics of the technical third cultures. Chapter VI focuses on the schools relational characteristics in terms of educational expectations and the nature



of the school's current educational status in view of the international patterns within the school and its community. Conclusion follows Chapter VI with an overview of the study considerations and future outlook.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

#### Overview

From scientists to diplomats to subsistence farmers, there exists a commonality of life experiences, intellectual or professional pursuits, and psychological states, such that there is a constant and ever-changing dynamism and change, in which the whole of humanity interacts at individual or inter-cultural levels. The world of the remote, illiterate Nubian villager is no different from a multinational corporation executive participating in political and economical affairs that shape the involvement of all mankind, along with the Nubian villager. May the affairs of the day be channeling of water canals for irrigation of the desert, negotiating on new oil prices, political upheavals of the Middle East, arms control, the energy crisis and environmental protection, all in varying nature and degree, share one common effect: No one in this world is outside the potential implications of all the world's affairs and problems. To say "I am Western," "I can only read Arabic," "I belong to a certain culture or nation," is no element of protection against complex and rapidly changing technological and social input, and the

global problems which face everyone. Communication materials, and information transmitted from the above sources first enter humans through their senses and are internalized through their perceptions and cognitions, followed by outward expansion to other humans through interaction. Thousands of men, women and children at one end of the globe queue up for food or other survival elements which symbolize mankind's emergent current problems, while the same problems are being discussed at mahogany boardroom tables, or other centers of power politics. One lives the problems, while others discuss whether he even should live. This is the world of our daily lives. It is a merging of daily concerns. The similarities imbedded in the affairs that shape the essence of existence in the globe are surpassing the differences imbedded in national or cultural boundaries. Fads and fashion have become such enormously powerful elements of cultural interchange that one finds it increasingly difficult to cut through the surface appearance of blue jean pants and tennis shoes to identify the meaning that sets two persons from two extreme corners of the world apart. Fads and fashion are not only surface-oriented. They shock the perception, dominate the cognition, and reappear invariably in behavioral manifestations.

What we are observing in the above-painted picture of

the globe is that the world is no longer a mosaic of cultures and nations unique in their institutional characteristics or shared problems. Technological advancement and communicational means are bringing nations, cultures, and individuals complexly together with an incredible speed. We are thus all crushed under their power resulting in greater culture segmentation, fragmentation, conflict and change.

The above small picture has been drawn to present the current environment of all mankind. But, only through understanding the historical progression of the definition of culture, and its institutional implications, will the reader be able to understand the current status of the culture that gives meaning to what is being pictured above.

### Culture Definition

#### Pre World War II Period

Culture was first defined around the mid-1800's. Tylor, as one of the founders of anthropology, defines it as, "Culture, or civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society" (Dimen-Shein, 1977:22).

Sociologists of the same period defined it as a social heritage acquired by men as a member of a given society (Broom, 1958). In this definition, heritage has been

implied to be a sum total of knowledge, beliefs, customs and skills of a geographically-bound human grouping.

In this period, culture was defined as an entity external to man, yet evolving humans into its symbols, language, customs and traditions through a process of institutional socialization. Persons were born into a culture and culture shaped them from birth on.

What did this approach to culture mean in terms of the individual, his society and its global implications?

At the individual level the emphasis was on education and acculturation. The individual was the passive recipient of this enormous learning process called socialization which was carried out through social institutions. In these early culture definitions, culture had symbols and meanings that shaped the identity of its people with a static consistency and continuity. At societal levels cultures were normative and totalistic in their concepts, varying from values, to human conduct (Geertz, 1973). Certain human values were held universal, yet cultures in total were treated as separate entities. Continuity implied traditions originating through the same process. In this conceptualization, between the individual and his culture, there existed a linear relationship of educational process. In this period cultures were internally homogeneous and globally defined on a scale of certain valued variables. Thus, at a global level cultural differences were evaluated on the basis of western value orientations

and technological civilization. Race and nationality were dominant in these values. Globally it was believed that technology and modernity were intrinsically good. The advance of technology, and economic adventures, brought western civilizations into an ambition of empire building (Useem, 1977).

During this stage for the first time there started interaction between cultures that led early anthropologists and sociologists to study relationships among cultures. New debates over paradigms in social sciences, and then terminology started new inquiries (Benedict, 1934). Cultural relativism seriously challenged cultural universalism.

#### After World War II Period

The socio-political atmosphere of the period immediately following World War II marked the second developmental stage in the social sciences in theory building. This was the period of nation building. The concepts of nation state, and national identity were dominant social and political terminologies. The United Nations marked a new kind of interactional system among nations which had been formed in the post World War II period. Colonial relationships dominated by superordination-subordination left their place to new conceptualizations of relationships. This was the period of development, and the relationships of developed nations with underdeveloped

nations (Useem, 1977).

Naturally, it is always the case that the concept of culture and its theoretical terminology, evolve within the context of socio-political and economic history. Social scientists are no less a client of the historical setting in which they live and carry on their intellectual pursuits than the man whose humanness is being defined by them. It is therefore a normal progression that when the characteristics of a given historical setting go through a change, so will the paradigm which defines those changes, giving meaning to man and his relationships, to bring about a meaningful understanding of the new world and the new lives created by the historical changes in human existence.

The definition of culture at this period emphasized national identity and the social institutions that built up that identity. It was a holistic approach, because, regardless of racial and cultural differences within a given national boundary, it was thought that through learning, adaptation, adjustment and change, it is possible to reach an ideal national identity under which all individuals or groups in a nation can unite (Katz, 1965). Values that governed the national institutions were held universal for that nation. Development of behavioral sciences and increased intercultural interactions led to new dimensions in the culture concept. New approaches emphasized that cultures were man-made (Geertz, 1973) and that cross-cultural relations introduce an element of change both at the

individual level and societal levels (Goldsen, 1956).

Introduction of more complex technology, and the concept of development became the new approach to economic and social advancement.

America entered the international relations arena as the agent of that development. This political and economic ambition was supported by the social science findings concerning social dynamism, human collective identity, individual differences and social change. Quantitative findings of psychology on human cognition, adjustment and adaptation all shaped the essence of development projects around the world. Culture, as it was re-defined, emphasized its constant state of emergence as a social phenomenon, thus not biologically rooted in human inheritance (Park, 1928). This stage of nation-building through economic and social development based its philosophy on this basic assumption that cultures are man-made and that certain universal qualities of right and wrong, good and bad can be instilled in cultures in which their tradition may have defined them differently than the western powers who are defining them within their value systems, but holding them to be universal. Attempts were made to instill these changes in the traditional cultures. This was the picture of the globe and the nature of international relations in it. International and intercultural understanding, and cooperation were the key terminology. Technical and theoretical knowledge of the western powers



were to be applicable to all issues of concern in all nation states. There was a search for underlying universal principles of cultural interactions and behavior. All of knowledge centers and diplomacy were dominated by absolute and general terms, and grand perspectives. This was the first expansion period of western, particularly American, technical experts, technocrats and scientists on foreign assignments.

The contribution of each generation to its culture concept is a re-creation. Human beings are given more credit for the making of their culture. This implies a process of growth and development, a dynamism that is imbedded even in the conceptualization of culture as much as in its outward applied arena expressed in human interactions; Kroeber's concept of "oikoumene":

New ways of thinking or sets of specific practices rooting in an idea, complex, or attitudes have shown a tendency to propagate themselves across the long stretch of the arena sometimes rapidly, almost like a wave of pulsation (Kroeber, 1960:379).

was most applicable to this post-World War II era. Despite emphasis on change, adjustment and adaptation, the attitude toward culture definition was simplistic in this period in that establishment of universal principles of human behavior, was thought to be applicable to all peoples of all cultures, regardless of differences imbedded in their traditions, and changes were to be made through social, economic

and political institutions.

In this period, development projects were going along, but their success started to be questioned, first by the lack of realization of economic short-term gains, and later by the unobtained results in all institutions of cultures and nations in which such projects took place. An increased economic and social gap, educational problems, over population, political resistance to externally imposed changes, brought us to the middle 1960's.

#### Period After Mid 1960's

From this point in history, until the current time, there exists such a fast change and new conceptualization in all theorizing that its speed, complexity and uniqueness in introducing ideas never expressed before has become overwhelming, in one sense, and exciting in another. This is the stage of global consideration in all phases of human, cultural, national and international interactions. Problems that face the world today are those of survival and resources are shared by all of humanity. Culture definitions imply greater complexity for which there are no precedents. Cultural change and its resulting conflicts have become unique in themselves. Previous definitions of culture are not applicable to the present. Historically, heritage has always been used as an answer to questions of collective identity but never in history have new generations questioned their heritage to the extent questioned

now (Useem, 1971). Cultural change has become an integral part of culture definition in that change cuts across cultures through communication, social interaction and conflict. These, in turn, further contribute to the increase in change and its resulting problems (Bohannan, 1972). New concepts, such as management of social conflicts, cultural variations, cultural interdependence, mediation, marginality, coping and adaptation can be listed as only a very small portion of the new vocabulary of social sciences, with new meanings as well.

New approaches to culture define it as a world-wide, interconnected system (Bohannan, 1972). This shift toward making the globe the center of attention, rather than discrete cultures separated by national or traditional boundaries, is one of the hallmarks of new approaches in social studies. The system implies complexity and segmentation. This in turn implies pluralization of culture systems (Berger, 1974).

In this condition at an individual level humans are conceptualized as being attached to, yet detached from their culture, at a given time. Their identities are conflict-oriented and there is a growth potential in this conflict (Geertz, 1973; Useem, 1977). At all societal levels, networks of communication, understanding of world systems (Smith, 1979) and marginality (Kaplan, 1960) are the emerging definitions underlying cross-cultural interactions. Coping, as a psychological phenomenon, has also

been transformed in that is no longer a trait learned early in life and applicable to all later social environmental changes (Coelho and Yuan, 1980). New definitions of coping imply continuity in the face of constant culture change and its resultant behavioral manifestations. Socialness is the sum total of experiences of reality. Perception and cognition of these realities are culturally contextual, and these references are shared by those who are participants in the same context and this context is global, in large part. Collective identities of mankind are globally inclusive due to enlarged interactions, conflicts and technology (Useem, 1971). In the new world definitions, social systems exist as a function of interpersonal interactions. When that stops, the system stops (Katz, 1965).

Before turning our attention to the new kinds of identities, a review of the current world's appearance should be made. We live in a world now in which all humans should psychologically be aware of their needs and desires and use them as their assumptions in dealing with others. This principle is applicable at our individual or inter-cultural levels. The setting in which international relations are played has changed. Cultural relations in principle exist within the frame of their current historical settings. When that setting changes, the paradigms that explain the cultures should change along with it. The new setting which prevails now is characterized by mutual survival.

Concerns of the non-western world involve their own problems and seeking their own solutions. There is a tendency toward political and economic conceptualization of needs and desires whether the cultures be western or not. Yet, the solutions to these needs and their resulting problems lie within a moral context of a common future. Communication technology is being sought to solve problems and aid to increase cultural interactions. The emphasis in international relations is not only one of political diplomacy, but also cultural dimensions. Through this cultural interaction it is hoped that fear and mistrust can be managed, if not eliminated. There is no more a need for total understanding and artificial harmony, which dominated the post-World War II period. Now the aim is co-existence. We have to learn to live together with all our cultural diversities. International goodwill, development of nations and democratization of the world are now being challenged. To understand the new trends and changes is the basis for understanding future developments. Human behavior, when applied to international, cross-cultural relations, proved not to be so predictable to be studied and manipulated by grand theories.

In reality, the dream Utopia has not occurred in world affairs. There are not absolute answers. At an individual and global level, we all must shed the skin of ethnocentrism which inhibits flexibility in understanding and acceptance of cultural variations. Social identities are

no longer totalistically and normatively either accepted or rejected. Marginality no longer is at an individual level existing on the fringes of society, but is more the case of becoming a mass phenomenon.

### Third Cultures

Following the previous section's review of the concept of culture's progressive definitional characteristics, and its application as a social indicator of human interaction, it is essential for the purpose of this study to examine a particular transformation of third culture and its mediating characteristics. These have developed progressively parallel to culture's transformation in human interactional history. It is one form of culture transformation which is incorporated within the current culture conceptualization and its result and definitions. To understand third culture, and its current emerging identity, it will be fruitful to go back to its original formulation. Human mobility naturally started when man first ventured out to meet his survival needs. But, its mobility characteristics have been formulated in relatively recent history. The theoretical conceptualization began originally with examination of the meaning of human migration, man's cultural identity through such mobility, and continuing most currently with his new role as cross-cultural representation. Every major economic, social and political advancement brought along with it new dimensions in human interactional patterns.

Migration and mobility and its resultant characteristics is only one of such changes.

There are several underlying assumptions concerning marginality. One is its cultural variation. If there were no cultural differences among societies there would be no marginality, because being marginal assumes a position in the interstices of cultures. The second assumption is that cultures are born out of human interactions and are not biologically inherited. These two assumptions bring us to a unifying point of departure in that the reality of culture change throughout human history exists mainly due to interaction among cultures, and more importantly among humans who act as agents participating in such interactions causing the change.

### Colonial Third Cultures

Looking at migrations, and the resultant marginality of man existing between cultures, with the cultures remaining relatively independent of each other in their core identities (Park, 1928), was the first approach to this particular social phenomenon whereby today we define third culture. These first formulations come out of a colonial empire-building with the result that "in response to the needs and realities of this period, there developed in the interstices between societies locked together by superordination - subordination, a colonial third culture" (Useem, 1977:2).

The economic, political, and technological atmosphere of the interactions, necessitated a separate, unique culture, established between the Western dominant colonizers and the non-Western dependent colonized. Groups of representatives left Western homelands and moved into colonized regions. These were the first mediating third cultures, formally established in cross-cultural relations. Both the western culture man and his co-interactor of the colonized culture within the frame of their interaction developed a distinct set of behaviors, way of life, language and status which set them apart from their original cultures (Useem, 1977). These third cultures varied in shape, but shared unique characteristics. They were: colonial bureaucratic structures, military and technical structures, trade and missionary groups.

As the first third cultures were shaped, the same historical period also experienced the original marginal man definitions. "Marginal man arises in bi-cultural or multi-cultural situations" (Stonequist, 1935:1).

Stonequist, Park and others observed a very significant characteristic of marginal man in that; in his personality, marginal man incorporated the relationships between cultures. Theoretically, and in its application, this represents a very special and important step in social sciences, establishing the origins of today's culture considerations and its resultant human personality and identity, it is a dual identification (Stonequist, 1935):



It is in the mind of the marginal man that the moral turmoil which new cultural contacts occasion manifests itself in the most obvious forms. It is in the mind of the marginal man - where the changes and fusions of culture are going on - that we can best study the process of civilization and of progress (Park, 1928:893).

### Development Third Cultures

The second historical stage, and its third culture, takes place during the aftermath of World War II. To understand this period of third culture one has to understand the underlying principles of cross-cultural relations at the time. The developed nations of the west were built on the old regions of the colonized world. These new third cultures were carried by technical assistants, diplomats, business executives and military experts. These were the new agents mediating by carrying western technological progress and its resultant social changes from western developed nations to newly created, underdeveloped nations. These new mediating roles theoretically interacted on an equal basis because no nation was superior in relation to another nation; the difference was one of development, not superiority. But, in application the old superiority - inferiority orientation transformed itself into a new kind of dominance and dependency. Dependency was based on principles set by western, developed nations through international politics and diplomacy. The mediating characteristics of this new period of third cultures have also been

studied by social scientists. Most observations of life style, task-related roles and personality characteristics have emphasized adjustment and adaptation patterns, conflict, coping and alienation. Most theoretical attitudes assumed some degree of abnormality imbedded within the very nature of cultural uprooting. One study examining the problems of marginality, observed its multidimensionality and its resultant individual adaptation problems (Kaplan, 1960). Others examining the phenomenon of culture shock, emphasize the negative effects of losing familiar social signs, and symbols of interaction (Nash, 1963). Accommodation and adaptation produced many observations and studies (Gonzales, 1967; Nash, 1970). Behavioral scientists, for the first time adventuring into cross-cultural domains in their theoretical considerations, studied certain personality characteristics. Kerckhoff, (1955) Coelho and Yuan, (1980) and their associates emphasized the stressful manifestations of uprooting. Negative manifestations of bi-cultural or multicultural life styles apparent in behavioral or personality characteristics were not the only problems imbedded in the very nature of the development third cultures of the period. These third cultures were created because their need grew out of the particular historical setting in which, promoting the western model of economic development was to create the same development characteristics in under-developed parts of the world. Modernizing these regions of

the world was to gain long-term political friends and allies through resolving their major social and economic problems. This modernization, and its failure at this point in history, will be best left to future evaluations. But, the problems relating to the failure of the mediating roles of the development third cultures are being examined by the social scientists in order to shed some light for future considerations. From the culture point of view a Utopian uniformity of humanity - wide universal values, established through technological modernization--did not happen. Instead, segmentation and further pluralization became a reality. Third culture representatives with their ethnocentrism (Hall, 1959) failed in their tasks largely due to their personality characteristics rather than technical incompetence (Klineberg, 1966). Diplomacy based on dependent relationships did not result in effective and successful mediating functions. This was the period of the breakdown in modern era paradigms.

#### Recent Developments

Toward the end of the 1960's there developed an intense questioning of traditional cultural values, and reexamining human interactional behavioral patterns. Conceptualization of a new kind of third culture and its definitional characteristics is in the making (Useem, 1977). In cross-cultural relations the emphasis is on interdependence and an abandonment of a grand formula of human behavior on a global

scale. The recognition and eventual acceptance of cultural diversity and complexity is a fact.

The mediating functions of the new third cultures emphasize the human dimension. Future salvations of humanity lie within the vary nature of the human.

Mediators of this new era are considered culture brokers or synthesizers (Willigen, 1981), who are equipped with both the knowledge of the structure and meaning of all cultures in which they are interacting. Tiryakian (1980) believes that uprooted man is a process of change related to modernity. It has a potential for growth and development, and it functions as a precondition for it. Studies such as the one above are growing in numbers, contributing to a new stirring excitement in social sciences. In his new role, the mediating person is seen at the conjunction of two or more cultures, but his presence must result in benefit to both sides; their functioning strength lies in the personal and ascribed attributes, as well as roles (McLeod, 1981). Finally, third culture is defined in this new scientific adventure as:

patterns unique to a community of man, which spans two or more societies. It consists of more than the mere accommodation or fusion of two separately juxtaposed cultures, for as groups of men belonging to different societies associate together and interact with each other, they incorporate into their common social life a mutually acknowledged set of shared expectations. A third culture cannot be understood fully without reference to its mediating functions between societies, nor apart from the cultures of the several societies in which its participants learned how to behave as human beings (Useem, 1963:484).

The previous discussion of third culture has been a conceptual overview within an historical context. To understand third culture and its current nature it will also be useful to, more closely and in detail, review certain theoretical considerations and applied observations or findings.

### Theoretical Considerations

Such considerations originate in psychology, sociology, social psychology, economics and anthropology, thus covering the whole of social sciences. The theoretical origins of third culture as a cultural entity started with those who defined and identified it first. Recognition of Park (1928) and Stonequist (1935) should be mentioned, in that, it is in these earliest conceptualizations that the characteristics of marginal man was found to be within his inner cognition and its behavioral manifestations. More recent studies and observations have been to some degree more detailed and specific examinations of particular cognitive, behavioral and personality considerations as well as more general overviews. Kelman (1965), for example, approaching from a social psychological standpoint, introduces a functional role of psychology into the study of international relations. Kelman and his associates emphasize the human dimension being incorporated into international relations. Kelman (1965), in summarizing related studies in the new field emphasizes

attitudes. Attitudes are developed as a result of human interactions, and, in turn, are linked to organizational and institutional behavior expectation of those operating in cross-cultural relations. Psychological traits and their components play an important role in determining human interactions.

The importance of attitudes and their behavioral manifestations have been studied by others as well. Klineberg (1966) defines and examines the characteristics of stereotypes, prejudice and their related psychological considerations. Klineberg analyses such traits again within the context of international relations as they affect mental health considerations among those who are crossing cultures. Ethnocentrism and superiority attitudes are not effective personality traits in the international setting. Emphasizing human factors rather than technical competence in such settings, Klineberg emphasizes understanding others' cultural meanings and symbols in cross-cultural interactions. Klineberg, very clearly, is a good example of the new trends in this field. Another good example of this new trend is the emphasis put on communication. Janis (1965) attempts to introduce effectiveness of communication on changes of images people have in their cognition as a result of long term association within one cultural setting. These images relate to how they conceptualize themselves and others. Most self or other directed images develop through selective self exposure to



external inputs. People fit the new information into already-existing cognitive categories. If persons have inner conflicts, they view the world and other cultures by projecting these inner conflicts as though they were the others' problems. Such rigid ideas and opinions are resistant to change, and the source of the resistance lies in the group affiliation and the individual's particular personality type. Again, the above observations are good examples of why the development of third cultures of the post-World War II era failed because of the human factor. Personality characteristics and types, inner cognitive and psychological structures and needs are greatly instrumental in meaningful international relations, because, it is the humans that interact, not technology or diplomacy.

The importance of familiarity with the dimensions of interpersonal relations of other cultures is further emphasized by Triandis (1975). He stresses learning other culture's norms, role structures, emotional intention behind behavior, self concepts, values and behavioral differentiation, thus increasing "isomorphic attributions" important in intercultural interaction. This, Triandis believes, involves cognitive differentiation. This analysis by Triandis and Janis is an excellent example of another trend in new approaches into third cultures, in that human dimensions in international relations include within it two components. One is cognitive in nature, and the other one is behavioral. The human factor in cross-cultural



relations is not a simplistic monolithic consideration. Its importance is as complex as the human himself. To expect humans to behave and interact more understandably and accepting in the atmosphere of cultural variation, implies that such understanding and acceptance must start in his cognitive structures and then further expand into its behavioral and emotional manifestations. In the development third culture period, mediators in cross-cultural settings were not able to accomplish this. Their ethnocentrism and totalitarian personality (Janis, 1965) hid behind their apparent tolerant behavior.

Others in the field of social sciences studied the relative difference between more culture-bound attitudes versus world-minded attitudes. Some such studies have been quantitative and others observational in nature. Bochner (1979) in his social-psychological empirical analysis of the development of international mindedness found that those students in universities who participate in multicultural educational programs develop and gain international minded attitudes (Bochner, 1979).

Living abroad is a contributing factor in the development of an international perspective. On the other hand, cross-cultural study programs of educational institutions often address themselves to those with existing cross-cultural world views. They do not instill new sets of ideas in those with more ethnocentric views but "maintain and expand already existing cross-cultural orientation.

They are not reaching to the ethnocentric and chauvinistic sections of society" (Bochner, 1979:40). Sampson (1957:99) in an attempt to develop a scale of world mindedness in that whereas the first one "refers to interest in our knowledge about international affairs," the second one implies a value orientation and frame of reference. Upon empirically testing his scale, Sampson finds it to be functionally valid and reliable. Gleason (1973) also, in studying worldminded attitudes among college students with overseas experiences found that parents' professional employment type influenced children's world minded attitudes in general, and adjustment to U.S. society in particular.

Within the literature of social sciences there is a considerable body of newly emerging scientific considerations. These evolve around the concept of uprooting the marginal characteristics of post-modern-era mediators. The definitional characteristics of this period in third culture was briefly discussed in the previous pages yet, a more detailed review of recent literature on the mediator topic will contribute to a better understanding of its nature today and implications for the future. Taft (1981) describes the personality characteristics of the mediating persons which include "bi-culturality, confidence, sensitivity to others, humanitarianism and intelligence."

Communication, understanding and marginality are the very nature of the role of the mediator. Probably the most

intensive and comprehensive analysis of the nature of mediation and the mediating man have been the works of Bochner and associates. According to Bochner (1981) "mediators exist at the interfaces of two or more cultures," they link these cultures as "synthesizers." Their existence is a direct contribution to promoting international understanding. Mediators in the post modern era are "heterocultural in cognition and behavior." Their reference group is the professional role they play. He is an "organization man." They do not function at the individual level and do belong to "transcultural reference groups." Contributions to the definition of third culture have been made quite extensively by the studies and their theoretical conceptualization done by Ruth and John Useem (Useem, 1973; Useem, 1963). Williger (1981) contributes to the concept of "synthesizer" as an attribute of a mediator. Further similar definitions are introduced by Kerckhoff (1955). In their view, marginal man is associated with two cultures, but a member of neither. Their analysis is one of maladjustment, ambivalence, moodiness and irritability. Sullivan, (1981) and Nash (1970) in describing certain attributes of mediators emphasize adaptation. Sullivan sees adaptation as two directional; both the outsiders and the insiders have to participate in it. Cultural adaptation, according to Sullivan, is a means, not an end for expanded lives. Mediators have to be detached and work as bridges. Nash, on the other hand, distinguishes adaptation

on a continuum from no adaptation to "going native." Cultural discontinuities in moving, and its resultant social implications, are the central concerns of their study.

"Uprooting" is a very popular topic in the social sciences. Its applicability and scope are as wide as the global modernization, technological advancement, urbanization and population increases, which contribute to a very wide and large segment of all cultures and populations being uprooted from their cultural pasts. Studies on such groups contribute not only to our immediate interest in third cultures, but also a larger interest in the new human beings of the future. Coelho and his associates have contributed a great deal of new insights in this area. Marris (1980) contends that "uprooting involves such an emerging condition that the whole socialization process has to be modified. This insight is a very significant step in the social-psychological lack of sensory contact and losing familiar environments result in new role models, because the new role models exist with human interactions." In relation to uprooting, Marris (1980) points out cultural meanings and how humans establish their relations to them. Bach (1980) emphasizes the importance of self image and the resultant stress in uprooting. Coelho (1980) offers some insight as to how one can deal with stress as a result of uprooting. Tiryakian (1980) is more positive about resultant conditions of uprooting. He

sees it as growth and positive change. Those who look at the future of third culture, stress the importance of training and further research. Bochner (1981) sees the future partially within the frame of academic establishments in that higher academic institutions should put greater emphasis on education of culture mediators. Seidel (1981) proposes training programs for the enrichment of the persons performing mediating roles. Seidel particularly analyzes the past two decades as a failure in transfer of technology as a means of growth and development, and points out persons as the center of the problem, rather than any faults which might exist within the technology itself. Ackerman (1974) in her article on training Americans for living abroad sees effective adjustment as the understanding and acceptance of other cultures. Effective insight with the behavioral content of other cultures is essential for effective intercultural interactions.

Chand (1979) observes the existing increase in the international business arena, but adds to his observations the difficulties of cooperation and effectiveness in people who are working internationally. Chand proposes that multinational corporations will be given the task of educating "third culture" individuals. Bochner (1981) also emphasizes training "bicultural childhood, adult cross-cultural experiences, academic training in cultural mediations, and job-related orientation" as preconditions for training overseas executives. Once they are trained, cross-cultural

mediators should be "equipped with knowledge of other cultures, effective on cultural communications, humanitarian, respectful of cultural variations and cultures undergoing change" (Bochner, 1981).

With the theoretical background of the above trends in third culture studies, certain social scientists have more closely studied third culture communities throughout the globe. Unfortunately for the present study, this author has not been able to obtain knowledge gained through studies of a similar nature by European or third world scientists. Language is one limitation contributing to this result, but, more significantly, due to American expansionism in third culture involvement since World War II, the increase in studies has evolved around American third culture populations. It is this researcher's hope, that such limitations are minor in nature, with a hope that observations and findings in studies of American third culture populations will be applicable to a broader understanding of participation in living and working in cross-cultural settings, regardless of original cultural roots.

Nash (1963, 1970) in two separate studies examines adaptational mechanisms in traditional cultural settings and their more modern counterparts. In his later study of modern "overseas communities, "he finds that misinformation about a culture leads to no adaptation. If adaptation as a trait has always been a part of one's personality on an

ongoing basis, then this results in a continuous resocialization. A "transitional man" who, according to Nash, incorporates within the repertoire of experiences, elements of bridging cultures, such transitional qualities result in better adaptation. Personality characteristics with which one enters a foreign cultural setting, plus the cultural characteristics of the host culture, both play an important role in effective adaptation. Given the above evaluations, Nash extensively examines American overseas enclaves as to how they cope with their new living environment and their adaptation patterns. Overseas interactional patterns within the foreign enclave are called "circles" by Nash. Gonzalez (1967) in his study of "expatriates", who are those people with permanent assignment overseas, finds that there are distinguishable differences between certain personality traits one develops in living overseas. Accommodation is what one does to the new culture; extreme accommodation may not be a good trait. Tolerance is one of the most prized attributes in overseas living. Open mindedness, on the other hand, is always toward the professional counterpart, but it is never to his culture. Gonzales in his observations finds that overseas communities do enjoy a "good life" with the economic, service and cultural privileges, but do not consider this particular life "good enough" for their children. The family is a center of activity, and as a community they are homogeneous as regards to age, education, experience, and responsibility.

Life overseas provides a wider focus on life, resulting in enlargement of selves.

The role expectation of everyone participating in it is one of an ambassador, in that every national represents his nation, culture and behavioral expectations that come along with it. Guthrie (1981) evaluates the process of culture mediation within the context of some social-psychological studies and observations. Environment changes for mediating persons existing in "alien societies" result in "disruptions" in habitual behavioral patterns (Guthrie, 1981). Overseas living is a stress-producing circumstance according to David (1966) and such stresses are greater on the wives and children of overseas employed executives. Bower (1967) like Elkind (1966) presents some descriptions of life styles, family strains, schooling, health considerations and community characteristics. Bower concentrates his observations on the military life overseas. He observes a phenomenon of culture shock, lack of meaningful contact with host nationals, and discontinuous, segmented uninvolved selves. In relation to schooling, the extent and number of schools, availability and imaginative, resourceful and adventurous characteristics of teachers are observed. Bower further observes some behavioral problems among students attending military dependent schools. A lack of community resources for dealing with needs, behavioral problems, and emotional strains are compensated for by family and school support. As an overseas American



school administrator in Japan, Downs, (1970) observes that overseas living is different and the attempt to reproduce American life overseas is impossible, in fact, attempts to create "little Americas" produce adverse effects. Cantrell, (1974) finds fewer cases of emotional disturbances despite constant transitional living. The father's lack of interaction with the children, the servant's role as substitute parent and the western female youths' hardship, living in male-dominated Muslim societies are observed by Auerback (1971).

Because the foreign community is often isolated within the host culture, foreign communities do not develop balanced realistic views on the host culture and its people, resulting in prejudice (Kelly, 1973). In examining adult socialization, "integration, acceptance, adaptation it is found that surface adjustment may appear normal but is not typically accomplished at a psychological level." This in turn drives overseas people to their fellow countrymen. Moving is less strenuous for men than women, because for men there is the continuity of work circumstances. But women seem to find great satisfaction in club work. Parents, in general, judge their feelings of moving on the basis of their children's academic and social performance and on the basis of their expectations. If parents communicated with their children on their new living situation and made their children understand their experiences, this resulted in better coping and higher self esteem, reports

Goldberg (1980). He further adds that there is an improvement in quality of life styles within the varied cultural exposures and experiences. Useem (1963) observes that the impact of third culture increases understanding within the realm of change, recognizes people's ability to live with differences, introduces new perspectives about one's culture and the world and, finally, evolves its participants around common faith. Observations of Useem (1963), in his survey of Indo-American third culture, found that there is a great group cohesiveness among Americans but, despite contrary findings, they are not close to host nationals. Third culture interactions result in greater "self identification" and a sense of belonging to the "community of man."

Theoretically, expatriate communities existing between societies constituting modern third cultures have been continuing as an inquiry into its characteristics. Some inquiries into American communities abroad have been observed. One particular study defines them to be "organized to serve different purposes and to fulfill a different set of needs than is the American community at home." (Useem, 1963:14) Useem (1963) observes that American overseas communities' characteristics do not lie within a geographic area but in the interactions and social relations that shape their entity; further, they are representational in nature, sponsored by some purposeful collectivity. They share a higher life style socially and economically, yet they enjoy fewer community resources and support systems.

In addition to the above characteristics, despite their apparent homogeneity resulting from the isolated enclave-ment, they are broken down to sub-groups and entities on the basis of functionality and residentiality (Useem, 1967). As to family relations, the dependent status of wives and children, and the representational role of the family, stand out as unique characteristics resulting from their roles within the social settings in which they live and work (Useem, 1966).

### Identity and Its Characteristics

Initial inquiries into the underlying characteristics of human communities and societies and their cultures, naturally parallel inquiries into the human itself. Never in the history of knowledge and its searchings have humans been as obsessed with the understanding of themselves or as curious about their surroundings. This magnificent obsession spans from mastery of understanding of their physical being, all the way to their inner psychological meanings. Despite deep interest and intensive search, humans have yet to complete this inquiry. This research is one further example of this continuing search.

Identity, self, personality and ego, are some of the verbiage of the dimensions, but the question is always the same. What are we as humans?

As has been mentioned earlier in the culture review section, humans cannot be understood without understanding their social unity, that is, their cultures. Yet culture

can never be understood without establishing the real meaning of it as expressed in interactions within its smallest nucleus, the "human" self, and identity.

To understand the identity of man, in turn, involves as complex and dynamic an inquiry as its extension - culture. The literature, thus, is the perfect reflection of its complicated nature. Self and identity have been defined, redefined, compartmentalized, then again unified repeatedly from the standpoint of varying social scientific theorizing, for centuries.

The definition of identity involves basically two levels, one of these is in terms of self extension and unification with other selves around the persons and their culture, because to understand the individual, unless in total isolation, is impossible without understanding the natural relationship with other selves. It is this meaningful continuity that enables scientists to define it on this level and context.

At this level, it is shared heritage, way of life, language and common symbols and meanings. It is imbedded within the socialization of the human from birth on. Though it is traditional and normative in its theoretical approach, this definition of extended social self is growth and development oriented. It assumes that the person is not born with a cultural identity, but is born into a culture to be identified. The socialization process brings reinforcement by the society through continuity,

consistency and ultimate commitment. Through socialization the individual internalizes this process of acculturation. Internalization at this level is a cognitive process, where by, through perception of social inputs, the individual unites with that social environment in his cognitive system as well as in its behavioral manifestations. Thus, the resultant socially identified human emerges. This emergent human becomes "belonged", and this belonging is one of his unique identity characteristics. This belonging, ever powerful, and globally applicable to any social group in the world, starts with the primary relationships at home, and extends all the way to nationalism and internationalism. It is culture-bound in all traditional conceptualizations. Despite a certain degree of challenge in recent years, which will be discussed later in this chapter, it is still dominant across the board in its culture-bound nature. Through this social identity with group affiliation, one is equipped with the characteristics which labels the person as an insider. By definition, if one "belongs", someone has to not "belong". This is a natural outcome of the self selecting process of cultural diversities, and their socialization. If each individual is socialized into his/her social group and its culture then what happens to his/her relationship with those who do not "belong" to his/her culture?

This is where we enter the concept of outsiders. A natural progression of this musical chairs syndrome is that

if one is an insider, this implies a juxtapositional relationship to outsiders. The whole identity conceptualization and its application in one group is, to a large degree, meaningful if and when it is compared to another group. The ingroup exists only if there are outgroups. Each social unit is judged and defined against others first, on a continuum, ultimately to the world. Throughout socialization, in any ingroup, personal or communal inadequacies and weaknesses are reinforced by power affiliation with the supportive social group. If affiliation is a socially positive process, its underlying parameters imply certain negative, or not so desirable elements of morality or human conduct. Prejudice, authoritarianism, blind identifications, ethnocentrism, and a whole lot of descriptive traits are as natural to identity formation as is the love of a country or mother. A child is weak and powerless as he/she perceives the sheer size of everything that surrounds him/her. This weakness is reinforced by and compensated through parental power affiliation. Later this habitually continues throughout life, from seeking one unification of power to another. With power, one gains security and safety of belonging. Through a supportive group, it develops a compensation for inability to stand alone. In childhood this is natural, due to the insufficient physiological adequacy to stand alone, but if it is not handled healthily it can lead to a destructive authoritarian personality. This extended social identity in most

individuals is kept under control under non-threatening circumstances, but can easily surface both at a personal or collective level when outsiders challenge its legitimacy and morality.

In most traditional identity definitions, this social identity is as homogeneous, static and nomothetic as culture defined by the same theorization.

Identity "summarizes and integrates a psychological approach to the survival and continuity of culture as it is carried forth from one generation to the next within individuals" (DeVos, 1976:354). This summary definition of the above identity discussion involves, therefore, differential socialization into the prescribed institutions of the society, selective permeability within those institutions, role and their resultant role definitions and reference group orientations. Inquiry into social identity continues with its differentiated characteristics. Social identity as an outerdirected aspect of total identity of the individual involves one's family ties, differentiated roles played within his/her social interactions, his/her relative status within those roles and his interactional patterns with his/her peers and his/her ultimate nationality identifications that shape and define the social identity. Identity in this context is defined as "the actual experience of self in a particular social situation. It is the manner in which individuals define themselves as such. Identity is part and parcel of a specific structure

of consciousness and is amenable to phenomenological description. Berger (1874) "The self is something which has a development; it is not initially there at birth but arises in the process of social experience and activity, that is develops in the given individual as a result of his relations to that process" (Strauss, 1956:199). Both of these definitions exemplify the approach to the Social Self. Self is described in this context as a "Social Structure" (Strauss, 1956). It is inconceivable, therefore, to think of self arising outside of social experience (Strauss, 1956). There is certain terminology prescribed to the social environment of the individual. This "organized community" and its social groups with which the individual unites are called "the generalized other." "Significant other" are even smaller units within which the individual interacts more intimately. Further, the individual gains meaning of his self through his reference groups which are very important for any socialization. Reference groups can be one's ethnicity, profession, race or occupation which determine his collective identity (Strauss, 1956).

As social identity unites with the unique entity of the individual's cognitive and emotional being, thus results the concept of "Ego Identity" (Erickson, 1959). According to Erickson, ego identity is defined within a social system where it grows. How individuals see themselves, and how they interact in a social environment influence the self concept. How one values his/herself is socially contextual



in that the degree of how one fits into a social group coherently determines how much he values himself. In each ego dimension, a person perceives himself in relation to that social group which is his reference group (Ross, 1962). Social identity is maintained within the context of geographic or territorial area, one's work, religion, language and cultural patterns (Devos, 1976). Klinebergs' (1967) study of children's views of other people, is a good example of how ingroups identify themselves, and what criteria they use to define outgroups. When Klineberg asked the question of "What are you?" to children of different nationality backgrounds, he found that children define themselves with respect to the same criteria as they define others. One's feelings about his/her cultural group "autostereotypes" are found to be not more exaggerated than his/her feelings about outgroups "heterostereotypes." On the basis of such criteria, as the similarity increased between culture groups, so did the attention to them. In this study, national identities were defined in relation to other national identities. In judging themselves in relation to others the criteria used were nationality, religion, ethnic, origin, or geographic distance. But in the criteria used for desirability or undesirability of other nations, they valued way of life and opportunity available, rather than the characteristics of people living there. Naturally, Klineberg finds that as the children grew older, more differentiated and complex criteria developed. But

the more exaggerated one's view of one's national group, the more prejudiced they become.

Social and ego identity definition is an integrative process of internalization of cultures. This is what establishes its significance. The individual's self, and his unique personality traits, cannot be underestimated within the significance placed in the social context of that self. Each self is born with a certain degree of unique emotional, cognitive and other structural conditions. They play an important role as to how they perceive, and therefore internalize, social inputs. This is, in fact, where the literature is richer and varied. The question of what am I, involves complex cognitive and behavioral processes that are inner directed as much as outer directed. The process of internalization is not unconditionally total. Ross (1962) in studying the ego identities of six Indonesians, found that ego identities are multi-dimensional on the basis of reference groups, but that how one internalizes these dimensions, in terms of their relative value, is partially dependent on the society's values, but also on how each individual agrees with those values. Both the personal and social identities, and their interaction are complex and multi-dimensional.

Discussion of how an individual conceptualizes him/herself, and transforms incoming social inputs, in terms of his/her own cognitive and psychological entity,

will be left to other related studies. Within the frame of this study emphasis is on identity as it relationally exists within a given culture.

As culture's definition changed, so did the differential characteristics of identity. As cultures go through change, so do the identities. In particular, the psychological approaches to identity emphasize this, in that continuity establishes stability, normality and psychological health. Discontinuities result in conflict and abnormality. Yet, even the most homogeneous static cultures experience change through each generation. And when cultures experience this change, so will their individual members. Mischel (1969) agrees with traditional definitions in that continuity of self is a very important aspect of personality. Mischel believes that there is a perceptual and cognitive continuity in the face of apparent behavioral changes. Cognitive and perceptual characteristics are much more resistant to change. Traditionally, Mischel continues, it has been believed that discontinuities in personality disposition were manifestations of deep core psychological problems. Mischel does not believe this to be true. He comments that such variations in dispositions are reflections of "situation specific causes," rather than, and independent of a core psychological basis. How one reacts to certain circumstances may be definable within that circumstance. Thus, this researcher agrees, is a very major conceptual change in the

conventional psychological approach. It is a significant evaluation of how an individual may manifest seemingly contradictory behavioral patterns, and their underlying emotional base, that its apparent unpredictability may then be termed normal, not pathological. How one may react to certain circumstances may be defineable within that circumstance (Mischel, 1969).

Personality, therefore, does not respond to stimulus differentiations in a coherent, generalized, predictable response pattern. Responses are as diversified as the stimuli. Erickson (1959), on the other hand, comments that because ego identity develops within a social context, changes occurring in that environment may pose problems for its permanency. Life style of the post-modern era, is undergoing constant changes, increasing the number of diversified approaches in this connection. Mischel (1969) insists that "discontinuities - real ones, and not merely superficial or trivial veneer changes - are part of the genuine phenomena of personality" (Mischel, 1969:1017).

Inconsistencies in personality are "fact" not a factor of statistical significance of measurement, and this does not imply abnormality. Certain personality structures are as independent of each other as they are a functional part of unified total personality. They may act contradictory to one another and this does not imply abnormality.

Parallel to the phenomenon of discontinuity are the changes created by the perceptions of reality which at

times may not reflect the reality (Klineberg, 1966). As a result of uniqueness of personality, each individual perceives external reality through very unique interpretations of his being. This process of selective perceptions takes several shapes (Klineberg, 1966). Selective attention, distortion, reinterpretation, labeling and anything which does not conform to our stereotyped expectations, are some of these categories suggested by Klineberg (1966).

Discontinuities in cognitive process are on the rise due to modernization, high mobility and technological changes. There occurs throughout life, a separation of mental correlations established during childhood socialization. Mobile people have disjointed mental images, as a result of their life styles, and they interplay with the similar disjointed external stimuli. Mobile people disassociate from the social support which originally socialized them, and as a result fill in the newly created cognitive blanks with new perceptions in a new social context. Given this cognitive reality, children and adolescents have one advantage over adults, they do not have a long history of established images and by nature are willing to question their legitimacy, thus becoming more approachable for change.

Change and instability are characteristics of social life (Broom, 1958). In the course of mobility, behavioral changes are very conscious, which originally might be reflected by the person as being unnatural to his earlier

unconscious socialization. Nevertheless, status pressures from one's reference group are strong motivational factors for change (DeVos, 1976). The search into establishing meaning for the psychological conditions behind behavior is continuing. At least theoretically, it is established that behavior as a unit is relatively specific and it relies on a specific environment which is called the "discriminatory learning process" (Mischel, 1969).

This dynamism of identity, in terms of its potential for change, brings us to new directions in its definition within the context of modern environmental and human conditions. The modern definition of identity is more inclusive of the peculiarities of individual's life styles. Four conditions are identified by Berger (1974) as intricate parts of modern identity: (1) Modern identity is "peculiarly open." This means that even though certain significant aspects of identity are completed at the end of primary socialization, modern man enters his adult life not completely socialized. He is open to changes and vulnerable to external influences. (2) Modern man is also "differentiated." That is, the social context of the individual is pluralistic and not so coherent and reliable, leaving the individual with a differentiated, subjective evaluation of reality. (3) Modern man is further "peculiarly

reflective in that constant changes in social experience leave the individual with reflective consciousness." (4) Finally, modern man is "individuated." Individual values, freedom, and rights have become extremely important, thus, reducing the significance of collectivity.

As modern identity is defined, more diffused and compartmentalized, and as new cultural groups emerge as a result of that modern life style, so emerge new kinds of cultural identities. These new cultural identities are not geographically bound, nor socialized within a static, stable and relatively homogeneous social group, but emerge as a natural progression of global interrelatedness. According to Strauss (1956) "the organized other" is a narrow diameter of community in the classical definition of identity but, Mead, recognizes the global nature of human interactions and accepts that "we are struggling now to get a certain amount of international mindedness. We are realizing ourselves as members of a larger community. The vivid nationalism of the present period should, in the end call out an international attitude of the larger community" (Strauss, 1956:254). With the theoretical transition, as well as the historical development of its time in social history, conducive to that transition, mankind enters into the era of birth of another identity, the "third culture kid," affectionately defined by Ruth and John Useem as "the minor dependents of these, for the most part highly educated mobile world elite, who are linking, in complex

ways, the global community" (Downs, 1976) like the third culture in which their parents play an active role, they see T.C.K.'s "as people. . . (who) will be following in their parents' footsteps and fulfilling mediating roles in the increasingly conflictive but interdependent global system" (Useem and Downie, 1976:104). The purpose of this study is to seek the identity characteristics of T.C.K. adolescents. Therefore, it is most appropriate at this point to go back to some general theoretical considerations, and point out, again in general terms, some of the most typical identifiable characteristics of adolescent identity. "In puberty, and adolescence, all samenesses and continuities relied on earlier are more or less questioned again, because of a rapidity of body growth, which equals that of early childhood, and are now primarily concerned with what they appear to be in the eyes of others, as compared with what they feel they are inner sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others" (Erickson, 1950:261). Adolescent identity is marked by peer group identification. Status in it, acceptance by it, ingroup inclusions, language, style of clothing, music, all are unique to a given peer group and defended against any outgroup peers or adults. Role expectation and role performance gain significance. For the first time in the adolescence period humans begin to think of the future, and begin to develop concerns for it. Interactions with the opposite sex along with future orientation are two major



preparatory conditions of adolescents striving toward adulthood. Elements of continuity for the identity to shape is significant and how it evolves within the apparent discontinuities of international living will be discussed later. Stresses of growth and development (Goldberg, 1980) combined with the need for attachment figures (Coelho and Ahmed, 1980), are two complementary emotional states, and further dominant characteristics.

The identity of third culture children, the combined culturebound characteristics of their making, along with their more universalized adolescent characteristics, are revealed, in more detail in the next section.

### Third Culture Children

"Who are the third culture children?" is as very recent theoretical phenomenological question within the history of social sciences. It grows out of the socio-economic history of its time. It is a recent theoretical consideration largely because the increase in its size is a very recent occurrence. The reason for this population's existence is its status of "dependency." They "are the dependents of parents who are employed overseas" (Useem and Downie, 1976:103). As a result of this emergence as part of the socio-economic increase in interdependence in world affairs, they become a unique entity. This entity is not just numbers, quantitatively described in head counts. They are in the process of creating a culture. They do not

belong to a traditionally cumulative culture, geographically localized and identifiable by discrete language and heritage, imbedded within some cumulative tradition, toward which they are passive recipients. In short, they do not fit into classical, conventional culture definitions. However, they are a culture with a unique set of behavior, language, life style, and patterns of interpersonal relationships. Their culture lies within the frame of their experiences and interactions.

Their social characteristics, family relations, life styles, friendship patterns, parental professional sponsorship, role expectations, psychological searchings, feelings toward roots, adjustment, adaptation and coping, all have uniqueness. It can be isolated as belonging to them as they shape their identity as a separate third culture.

Sidney Werkman, who studied the American adolescent overseas from the standpoint of a psychiatrist, contends that: The "Americans who has grown up overseas typically finds it necessary to create in himself a complex identity, one that includes an ability to withhold significant experiences without developing feelings of guilt and anxiety, while retaining them in readiness for expression when the opportunity for a shared relationship becomes available" (Werkman, 1979:189).

Closer examination of interactional patterns, psychological traits, beliefs and attitudes of the above-defined "third culture kids," will enable the reader to understand

more closely their identity.

Studies, whether they are quantitative, or descriptive, are still quite limited. Some efforts concentrate on the "problems" whereas others point out the "opportunity for growth" (Goldberg, 1980), in terms of the general human condition. Subjects include, whether or not children from any given culture should be taken out of this predetermined social environment and shipped around the globe along with household possessions "like a suitcase" (an 8th grader at C.A.C.), and, if and when they are, what are the implications in terms of human socialization, acculturation, and growth. The ongoing scientific discussion on the topic is one of the most productive and beneficial aspects of the existence of its culture. Those, who support the proposition, that it is a "culture," benefit from this continuing inquiry. This is the only way to reach a theoretical foundation.

While the search is continuing, so are the following findings and observations.

Family relations as a primary interactional pattern have been emphasized theoretically in terms of culture growth and transfer. In the case of T.C.K.'s, its importance becomes even more significant because of the natural isolation as a result of mobility from any social, or extended family roots or interactions. Isolation and strangeness alone brings families closer to each other, so much so that in the case of T.C.K., its significance as a

support system has been expressed in almost all studies. Families in mobile life styles in general, and in third cultures in particular, do spend more time together (Werkman, 1975). Such natural closeness results in greater family unity and family identification (Downs, 1970). According to Miller (1974) the family is one of the elements of continuity so essential for the healthy development, and establishment of identity.

Useem and Downie, (1976) further support the above findings with their studies that 90% of T.C.K.'s develop close attachment to parents. Attachment figures are important for any child in a circumstance of strangeness, where "coping" is necessary. This, in turn, increases the role of parents in internationally mobile living (Coelho and Yuan, 1980). Not only does the family gain ever-stronger significance for the well being and identity of T.C.K.'s but, the characteristics of that relationship establish the pathway by which the dependent child develops a healthy identity. Goldberg (1980) found that family stability was particularly important for lower adolescents. The family, on the other hand, is made up of individuals who have their own needs, desires and aspirations established for themselves. This is particularly true of third culture parents of third culture kids.

Parents live in that complex, and dynamic life style of their third culture. There are stresses and demands put upon them by their overseas professional sponsorships.

There are behavioral expectations as a result of their representational roles. They have to cope, adjust, adapt and are forced to accept all cultural differences and their resultant unpredictable daily routines. David and Elkind (1966) emphasize the anxieties and stresses put upon the wife in overseas living. Fathers work hard (Werkman, 1975), and travel often as a result of their job descriptions. Fathers' jobs are more demanding overseas than they were for the same job back in their own country. A father's demanding professional involvement are compounded by demands of being responsible for the social behavior of their families. For this reason, mostly fathers have the final say in the family (Useem & Downie, 1976). This observation of the importance of the father's role in the family is, however, complicated by other observations, that there is generally a deficiency in performance of this father's role (Nash, 1970). The father's work demands that mothers cope with problems, but, at the same time there is an increased closeness and friendship within the family, despite these unsettling strains.

Adolescence is the period of increased peer significance within the life involvement of youth. T.C.K. peer relations, in addition, are even more important for their identity development. It is within these interactions that their reference group identification exists. Their third culture shapes and emerges within that group. Most research in this connection, regardless of pro- or con-ness

of international living, recognize this significance.

The significance of the peer group, to a large degree, lies within the familiarity and sharing. Experiences which are unique to T.C.K.'s may be different from experiences of youth in primary culture settings, but are totally familiar, common, and shared by T.C.K.'s. They are at home with each other and within their relationships. The importance of peer relations is intensified also because of lack of community support systems in international third culture communities. They separate themselves from the local culture, and rely to a greater degree on their friendships (Kelly, 1973).

Experiences are very important to the emergence of third cultures and even more important for T.C.K.'s. It is within these shared experiences that T.C.K.'s feel at home, at ease and comfortable. T.C.K. culture, in fact, does not exist within the frame of traditional heritages. It exists within current, emergent, shared experiences. T.C.K.'s tend to develop very fast friendships, but these friendships are tangible (Miller, 1974), and superficial (Kelly, 1973). The reason for this is that T.C.K.'s are on the move. They are transitional in any given circumstance in which such relationships develop. They live in heterogeneous social interactions, and every friendship must be left behind because one must move on. The emotional strains of losing friends result in establishing defensive distances in emotional involvement. Mobility is fact for

T.C.K.'s. Lasting relationships are impossible when the reality of their lives doesn't permit them.

Outside of family and peer relations, the T.C.K.'s social surroundings further includes the community in which he lives and the school he attends. Third culture communities, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, share a unique and distinctive set of characteristics. Because of this, the T.C.K.'s social and community environment is an extension of his unique culture group characteristics. Both of these cultures interplay and share features. Social relationships are developed very easily (Miller, 1974). Shared meanings and symbols, and environmental closeness and confinement are the basic reasons for this. The T.C.K. conforms to the "community" standards of role expectations and behavior (Werkman, 1979). The representational role characteristics of third culture carriers extends to their dependents. T.C.K.'s learn from a very early age the "do's" and "don'ts" of this particular living. "Sponsorship subculture" is the term used by Useem (1973) wherein the father's professional affiliation becomes very important, and the behavioral expectations placed upon the dependents of the father must conform to these expectations. T.C.K.'s do not rebel against such roles. They internalize them by letting them become part of their identity.

The isolated nature of international third culture communities, in relations to the host culture, results in misconceptions about the host culture (Kelly, 1973). These

misconceptions, and their resulting prejudices may reflect in the language and behavior of T.C.K.'s, which in turn, lead to an acceptance of cultural variations among their peers.

There is one characteristic of international third culture communities which is important for the identity of T.C.K.'s. Regardless of the transiency of international mobile living, there are several continuities, one of which is the community of T.C.K.'s. In general terms, the community living characteristics do not change from one post to the next (Miller, 1974). Community interaction patterns, coping situations or issues, questions of communication, transportation, housing etc., are very similar, regardless of where the community is. Foreignness and its elements and patterns do not change with the change of host settings.

Another element of continuity for the T.C.K. is his family. In fact, one reason for closer family ties is due to this continuity. Wherever the T.C.K. and his/her family move, they take family emotional ties and interactional patterns with them. The family shares a certain degree of coping history, and other experiences that cumulatively constitute continuity for the T.C.K..

The third element of continuity is the school (Useem and Downie, 1976). International schools do share physical, curriculum, administrative, and communicational



similarities. This similarity is greater than the differences, due to the schools' affiliations. The atmosphere of the school, in terms of interpersonal relations, is very familiar to the T.C.K., even if the physical setting changes. T.C.K.'s adopt and adjust to school faster than any other adaptations they may have to make. Despite such continuity, there exists a feeling of a particular school being a "temporary" stop over (New York Times, 1972) for the T.C.K.. They take what they need and desire from each school, and move on to the next. This is, of course another natural progression of the reality of their living circumstance.

This emphasis on transiency raises the natural question of roots. What are the roots of T.C.K.'s, and what constitute roots? That T.C.K.'s do not belong anywhere (Nash, 1970) is another extreme observation. But, there is a commonality within this continuum. Personal accounts and experiences are the roots for T.C.K.'s. If "roots" or the concept of "home" is defined very rigidly within the confines of traditional sociological definitions, then, it is true that they do not belong to any home; because, there is no particular home aside from the grandparents house (Miller, 1974), within a given permanent geographical setting. Yet, there is a home, and "homes" within the experiences of their lives. This results in a psychiatric finding that, even when their dependency roles are completed, they do not want to settle down on any one place

(Werkman, 1979).

Observations into the lives and identities of T.C.K.'s are still just that. Theoretical conceptualizations have not been reached, but the inquiry is steadily increasing and growing. The following are scattered observations or insights and some of this inquiry is at an interdisciplinary level, ranging from sociology to psychiatry.

Some researchers observe T.C.K.'s to be spoiled, free, and enjoying more money for their age (New York Times, 1972). Others disagreeing with that observation of freedom, find them to be under great pressures of conformity (Goldberg, 1980).

As a result of such conformity, (Useem, 1973) finds them to be like "little adults," absorbing family, school, and community values of their third culture and readily internalizing them. This feeling of being at home with their culture, results in large numbers of T.C.K.'s returning to international living for their adult lives. "They feel at home in third culture settings" (Useem and Downie, 1976).

The T.C.K.'s life style is dominated by a lack of an obvious homogeneous neighborhood, minority status, not knowing local languages, and thus being exposed to limited information inputs, lack of part-time or summer jobs, and over use of the community services that are available (Downs, 1970). T.C.K. adjustment and adaptation patterns are continuous, and exist each time they move (Kelly,

1973). However, the researchers find that the formula used for adjustment is the same, regardless of variations in settings (Cantrell, 1971). "They develop adaptive skills," so that there is a great potential for personal and identity growth (Goldberg, 1980). This observation alone implies a dynamism and complexity along with growth. Very closely tied with this finding, is another theoretical consideration of personality traits. Even though continuity is a most important fundamental aspect of personality, change is also a fact. Personality traits particularly go through change, and transformations with perceptions acting as a stabilizing force (Mischel, 1963). Perceptions, through personal interpretations maintain continuity, regardless of apparent behavioral changes.

Both change and continuity are relevant within the personality and emotional structure of the T.C.K.. Despite all such dynamism, there are very few observable emotional disturbances (Cantrell, 1971). T.C.K.'s have unique behavioral needs, specific to their life styles (Kelly, 1973). By and large, as an identity within their culture, T.C.K.'s are self directed, self-controlled, self-disciplined (Useem, 1973). They share very humanitarian values (Miller, 1974), resulting in belonging to the family of mankind (Useem, 1967).

### CHAPTER III

#### METHODOLOGY

##### Background and Theoretical Considerations

This is a study of real life. It is an attempt to capture the meaning of the complex life style of internationally living youth and their identity. Given this approach, establishment of techniques and criteria, and methods of analysis, were selected with the utmost emphasis given, to capturing the details and particulars of that life's meaning.

The general frame of the study is an interdisciplinary approach, in that sociological and social-psychological theories of collective-and self-identity have been considered. This study, in addition, is exploratory within the frame of Field Research, which is defined by Schatzman and Strauss, (1973:1-2). "The term 'field' refers simply to some relatively circumscribed and abstract area of study." Field research is defined by the same authors as having an added 'locative property,' but should not be confused with laboratory research. Within this definition, there is an assumption that "the field, the object within it, and the researcher, are inextricably linked to other fields and social situations."

Because the nature of the study is integrative, this methodology was selected for its appropriateness. There was no attempt made throughout the study to control the natural life occurrences of the Third Culture Community of the Cairo American College (C.A.C.) and its in-school operations.

These life experiences, and the interactions of internationally mobile youth are multi-dimensional and overlapping without clear boundaries.

Conceptualization of their meaning and context within a methodological frame was best possible through descriptive and qualitative methods. The collective and self identities of internationally mobile youth have to be examined within this principle of a broad conceptual frame pertaining to the specific study topic. To accomplish the goals of this study, all methods of inquiry and selection of techniques were chosen on the basis of their conduciveness to comprehensive and detailed analysis.

#### Methods Used for Exploration

1. Focused Interview: The principles of this interview method are laid out by Kendal and Merton (1946:541-577) and can be summarized as follows:

- a. the questions selected for an interview are involved in a particular concrete situation.

- b. the particular characteristics of this situation are previously examined by the researcher.
- c. the researcher sets out an interview guide, which focuses on the elements to be discovered through that interview.
- d. the focus of the interview rests on the personal experiences of the interviewed in pre-analyzed situations.

2. Participatory Observations: Active participation by the researcher was selected as a method in circumstances where the current personal life involvement within the Third Culture Community of Cairo was an advantage. Thus, this method was used in situations where community activities required active participation (Schantzman, 1973).

3. Passive Presence: Observation from outside, and/or limited participation, were also used as a method where observations of: during- and after-school activities of C.A.C., public areas in the city, and circumstances where an unexpected situation arose.

### Methodology Guidelines

The guidelines listed below were considered in application of the above methodologies:

- 1. Theoretical concepts as set in the Social Sciences, were used as a basic background.
- 2. Related literature findings were considered for establishing continuity and relevance.

3. Independent variables were specified considerations for the immediate aim of the study.
4. In interview situations, a combination of directive and non-directive techniques were used based on the criterion that situationally-specific interviews could be accomplished.
5. In addition, inquiries were made into social interactions through interviews or observations aimed at attending to the larger societal third culture context.

Throughout the study, in application of the methods and selection of interviews, or observations, content was based on the following integrative approach.

-Subjects: Contributions to the interactive situation under consideration:

-self concept

-concept of others

-self - and others - role expectations

-Third Culture Context: The context within which the above meanings evolved, was a continuous consciousness. Specific interactional patterns and their broader cultural context guided both the study's application and its evaluation. This particular guideline was applied to this particular study within the frame of the social-psychological principles of interactional definitions.

## Variables

### Independent Variable(s)

Selection of three independent variables was made for the interview of 7-12 grade students attending Cairo American College. However, their definitional role within the study was subject to principles of qualitative descriptive study. Therefore, they are not tested within a formal hypothesis against certain theoretical justifications. They are utilized as guidelines for the qualitative analysis of the findings.

The three independent variables are the following:

1. Nationality Backgrounds, broken down to three sub-categories:

- North American - Canadian and United States
- Western European
- Third World

The Nationality variable was selected on the basis of the cultural affiliation of the subject, as much as his/her passport classification. This variable is selected for establishing the identity characteristics of internationally mobile people because - (1) Cultural and/or nationality affiliations are a state of mind, (2) Mode of behavior, (3) Physical appearance and presence, and (4) Technological and worldly privileges.

2. Professional Affiliations, defined as the work-related affiliation of the parents of the subject interviewed, or the population observed. In all cases,



this affiliation is the father's job involvement in Egypt as a member of the third culture work force.

The following sub-groupings of professional involvement were made, basically on the basis of parental affiliations which are important partly due to solid expectations put upon the youth and the youths' dependency relationships and their characteristics.

-Diplomatic and other official Community - Those

people whose jobs are related in some capacity to the official national communities. Embassy personnel, official military affiliations, and other affiliations related directly to embassy classifications were included in this group.

-Oil and its related community - Those whose work

involvement is directly related to a membership in one of the major oil companies in Egypt. This group is selected because of their definite increase in numbers within the Third Culture Community and the C.A.C. student population.

-Business Community - Those expatriates involved in

any aspect of business adventure outside of the Oil Companies. Again, the increase in international business involvement in Cairo is the reason for this selection.

-High Technical Advisors and Consultants - Included in

this group are all those international, non-profit organization, academic personnel, and

any other technical and scientific representation. AID and its related contracts, missionaries, and all agricultural development professional affiliations are included in this group.

Nationality and its cultural meaning, and the professional affiliation of fathers are considered very important elements within any Third Culture Community. Their significance is discussed in the literature review section.

3. Sex, The male and female differentiation was selected as the third independent variable of this study. In addition to the differentiation by sex, the fact of location of this research within an Islamic society constitutes an additional reason for this selection. The interactional characteristics of different sexes within this host cultural setting may pose an important input within the formation of identities.

Secondly, the discovery of whether or not there is a general difference between the sexes as to their identity characteristics, developing through their international living circumstances, is the other consideration for this selection.

#### Dependent Variable(s)

The dependent variables for this study are the identity characteristics of internationally mobile youth,

attending Cairo American College in grades 7-12.

### Nature of the Study

#### Population of the Study

The population of this research project are divided within the following categories:

-Third Culture Community in Cairo - The representatives of foreign collectivities residing in Cairo compose the community population of this study.

-Local Community - The Egyptians residing in Maadi a suburban area surrounding Cairo American College containing many foreign representatives compose the "local community." These Egyptians through their work-related interactions and services to the third culture community are the host nationals with whom the foreigners are most likely to interact.

-The Administration and staff of C.A.C. are selected as another population for the purpose of this study.

-The student population of grades 7-12 attending C.A.C. are the final population of this study.

#### Sample Subjects of the Study

Sample subjects were selected from the above population sub-groups according to the following selection criteria:

-Third culture community - a purposeful sample selection of leaders of community organizations, such as wide-membership and active church groups, womens' community organizations, and random selection of certain community members was made for the interviews.

-Local community - a purposeful selection of certain social support services institutions was made on the basis of their long-term service to the third culture community surrounding C.A.C. Two shop keepers, and a real estate agent are the samples selected for interviewing.

-The Administration and Staff of C.A.C. -

Key administrative staff, such as the principal of the secondary school, and the registrar, the head nurse and the director of English as a second language (E.S.L.), were selected.

Members of the teaching staff, who would most contribute to this study's objectives, were selected purposefully.

Secondary school counselors, activity director, arts and drama teacher, selected social science teachers and the most senior teacher of the school, were interviewed.

-From the population of 7-12 Grade male and female students belonging to five categories of parental professional affiliations, three categories of nationality were randomly selected to be interviewed.

### Observations

Observations were made of all school events: social and academic (by class attendance), during and after school hours.

Other observations of women's organization meeting, PTO meetings, theatre productions, evening and week-end students and/or parent social activities, student parties,

and any and every occasion where this researcher was present. Observations were made as well of shopping centers, major hotel lobbies, Cairo Airport, restaurants and touristic and vacation sites in and around Cairo.

#### Schedule of the Research

The school's yearly academic calendar was one of the main determining factors of the schedule of this research. Establishment of the theoretical concepts, and continuity with similar research and study findings within the literature, was the first step in determining the total conceptualization of the study. Once this was accomplished, and all categories of criteria and objectives set for interviews, arrangements were made for their realization. Observations were made on a continuous basis throughout the research project.

#### Selection and Entry to the Research Site

C.A.C., and its Third Culture Community, were selected for this research because, as an American-type International school, C.A.C. represents one of the largest groups of schools available to internationally mobile youth. The community surrounding it is a typical third culture community in the third world.

#### Feasibility of the Research Site

C.A.C. is one of the largest schools of its type. Because Egypt and Cairo represent a broad range of international official and business involvements, as one of the largest concentrations of economic, social and political

international activities in the world, the school is thus a miniature representation of that involvement. The broad range of nationalities, culture groups, and languages represented, creates a conducive field for this research. C.A.C., in addition, is located in a very wide and open physical setting, whereby large movements of people involved in different activities can be observed. The school and its setting will be discussed in detail in the following section.

Initial contact with the school was made through a personal visit to the superintendent of the school. The researcher's personal background, research purpose and objectives were presented at this visit. Total endorsement and support were given by the leadership and staff of C.A.C. initially, and later throughout the research project.

The 1982-83 academic year established the beginning of the research project at this site. One previous year of residence in the community, enabled this researcher to establish credibility and trust with the school and the community. Subsequent to the presentation of study objectives to the school administration, an appointment was scheduled to establish this researcher's needs, and thus, the school's contribution to the study.

The following permissions were granted by the school for this research:

1. Total access to the school grounds for continuous

observations.

2. Interview of personnel determined by the researcher.
3. Statistical data necessary for the research objectives.
4. Classroom participation and observations.

A written explanatory letter as to the study's purpose was distributed through the office of the superintendent, to the teaching and administrative staff of the school for their awareness and support. Arrangements of interviews of sample students and community members were to be made privately outside of the school, according to this initial agreement. The requirement of parental permission was the reason for this. The selection of sample students was indeed made through private contacts, presentation of the study's objective in meetings of community institutions and the PTO.

Feasibility of the Community The neighborhood, which is called "Maadi", surrounding the C.A.C., is located in a suburb outside of Cairo. It represents an enclave of Third Culture residents. This enclave avails itself for observations of naturally occurring events and circumstances. The availability of several very widely supported community organizations, and other community social support systems enabled this researcher to successfully carry out the objectives set by the research.

The support of the community and the school of this

research was strengthened further by the following personal circumstances of this researcher:

- A personal life involvement, as part of the Third Culture Community of Maadi, through spouse's professional involvement in Egypt.
- Having two children, Grades 1 and 8, attending C.A.C.
- Personal qualifications stemming from two combined academic backgrounds, in psychology and education, and
- Personal and professional third culture involvement throughout adult life.

### Interview Procedure

Interviews of:

- School administration and teaching staff, community members, and the leadership of the community organizations, were conducted upon a mutually agreed appointment schedule. Interview periods varied from one appointment of 1 1/2 hours to 2 appointments of 3 hours in total.
- The sample student group was arranged through the following procedure:
  - .personal contacts with families.
  - .presentation of research objectives at the community organizations' meetings, PTO meeting, and in classrooms.
  - .E.S.L. students were selected directly through approaching the students in the classrooms.



Interview periods with students lasted about 1 1/2 hours each.

Number of interviews

- School administrative and teaching staff: 13
- Sample students: 25
- Community members, including community organizations and official community: 10

Interview Subject Areas

- School administrative and teaching staff: questions pertaining to:

- .vital personal background information
- .specific occupational position
- .the school and its operational status
- .the community and its characteristics
- .the students and their characteristics
- .philosophical educational considerations
- .other reflections on third culture and internationalism

- Community and its members:

questions pertaining to this group basically followed the above guidelines.

- Students:

questions pertaining to this group include the following subject areas:

- .vital personal and family statistics and background information
- .personality characteristics

- .parental professional affiliation
- .nationalism, internationalism, culture and its variations, world mindedness
- .life styles
- .concept of "home" and continuity
- .family relations
- .the school and the students' relationships to it
- .coping and adaptation
- .activity and leisure time involvements
- .self-concept and its characteristics
- .future outlook and aspirations

#### Limitations of the Study

- Limitations of the study are in terms of the theoretical frame, scope of the study and the methodological procedures and analysis used for the evaluation of the study. Lack of theoretical conceptualization limits the applicability of the findings as a reference to similar studies but, large scale generalization are not possible, at this stage awaiting further cumulative knowledge.
- Study findings are limited to the population and subjects chosen for the study namely; Cairo American College, its student body and the third culture community surrounding it.
- The study is further limited to the time and point in history in terms of social science theoretical

frame. Evaluation for descriptions are limited to theories, paradigms and values of its time.

- The observable characteristics of the third culture communities, and children are also limited to their time. Changes, particularly in the characteristics of the third cultures are not within the scope of this study.
- Limitation of the study is also due to the very nature of the study of the identification characteristics of an age during which such characteristics are not completely formulated in fact in process of development.
- Limitations imposed by interview situations and personalized nature of the answers, plus the sensitive nature of the international and political atmosphere have limited in-depth questions of certain topics related to the study.
- Size of the subjects interviewed for the study was small in size but in-depth exploration of significant variables and characteristics during interview compensated for this limitation.

Despite above listed limitations of the study it is this researcher's contentions that the findings explored and described will be conducive as a source for related studies in the field.

**Evaluation of the Findings**

- Data used for analysis were the interview materials and observations made in the research site.
- Findings from both the interviews and observations were evaluated in a broader context within the frames of the findings and description in related studies and theories.
- Content analysis of subject interviews were conducted on the basis of criteria set by several characteristics pertaining to their situations.
- Descriptive analyses were presented for the setting of the environment of the population and subjects of the study.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE SETTING AND THE CAIRO AMERICAN COLLEGE

#### Egypt

The architecture of Egypt and Cairo are the monuments documenting more than 6,000 years of the human and material history of world religion, politics and culture. From the Great Pharaoh Cheops' 5,500 year old pyramid, to Graeco-Roman civilizational remnants, to Coptic and later Christian churches, Mamluk and other Islamic and Turkish mosques, and architectural styles; all represent that longevity and harmony.

As the day breaks, and morning mist prevails, stretching across these monuments, I drive twenty-five miles every morning to my place of work. This morning mist, and its subdued power of blending, suppresses the contemporary urban characteristics of dirt, noise and crowd with a daily subtle reminder of re-birth of that establishment of a continuity with history. As I drive, all that I see are the tips of monuments stretching to the heavens, where they unite every morning. Again, every morning the great river Nile runs along with me, under the guidance of the rising sun. The sun and the river are the unchallenged predictability, repetitiveness or order and power of the

gods. The sun, by ancient pharaonic beliefs, was to be born out of the goddess Nut, from the East, traveling Westward across the heavens, and was swallowed back by her, to be born the next morning. The river Nile followed the same course, by flowing toward the sea then re-surfacing again beneath the earth the next day. This continuity and pre- dictability within the natural order of things is probably the most significant, and single determining factor for the highly sophisticated order of life and death laid out by the ancient Egyptians. The repetitiveness in climate and nature, and the behavior of the river, offered the model and standard for religious and political organizations and their social and cultural manifestations. The Pharoah's name which was called 'Cartouche' was inscribed and immortalized on all public monuments and symbolized that continuity, power, and order. Currently, ironically enough, this symbol of identity has been personalized, containing the bearer's name in hieroglyphics, and hangs around the necks of the majority of foreign residents of Egypt as what I call, an unspoken solidarity and identification with the origins of human history; a sense of continuity and belonging.

Another common feature of the timelessness and continuity expresses itself within the language. In contemporary Egyptian Arabic there is an expression called

'Ma'lesh,' which at best translates into English to mean 'never mind,' or, 'don't bother.' This expression, widely used among the local people, is another identification with that age-old history of repetitiveness within the social order of things. It symbolizes a strong belief in the sense of timelessness and repetition of the same order of things. At another point in the future, all affairs can be taken care of, in any of these reoccurring points, in time's endless continuity. As the sun rises and is swallowed back in order to be reborn the next day, so will the affairs of the day. Thus, contemporary expressions such as 'ma'lesh' and 'bokra, Inshallah' (God willing, tomorrow), should not be taken as negatively humorized by the foreign residents as expressions of cultural procrastination but, contextually as expressions of that predictable nature within the physical and social order of things.

Egypt symbolizes the origins of identity for the human's physical being and his/her social institutions. It is within this origin of identity that this researcher established the continuity with the topic of this research. How so? Of this continuity, imbedded within the history of the land, within its current point in history, as it has been for centuries, Egypt and its people embrace and hang together the diversities of human civilizational heritage. Within this geographic and human bridge has evolved an immense sense of tolerance, acceptance, recognition of, and coping with, conflicts and changes. The identity of Egypt

and Egyptians today is the sum total of the identities of human history. Cairo, it is said, is the mother of the world. If this is so, Egypt must be the cradle of its infancy. It is the origin and foundation of sciences, philosophies, and western religions. Egypt offered, and continues to offer, a home, inspiration, and momentum for all human institutional and technological adventures. It is in this origin of identity, of every flux, change and growth, that this researcher believes new changes and adventures are being created, to be linked to that tradition in the same paradoxical location, Egypt, where this research hopes to contribute to that change and rebirth.

A huge, 3,000-year-old statue of Ramses II, a contemporary of Moses, stands erect and in charge, in a central square of Cairo, with that immortal power of reminding everyone who must cross the square to move around the city, of that order of continuity, and that Egypt is the center, and the identity of mankind. An American, with a multicultural background, summed up this history's uniqueness upon returning from upper Egypt, where she visited the graves of the kings, queens and nobles: "I, for the first time, found my roots. I have visited historical sights around the globe, but nowhere did I feel 'me' in them before Egypt."

Egypt was described by Herodotus as "a gift from the river." Its monument, the Great Pyramid, was described by a thirteenth century Arab philosopher with these words:



"Man fears time, but time only fears the pyramids." Cairo, quoted in the autobiography of Ibn Khaldun, is described as "it surpasses any thing one can imagine." These are but a few of the hundreds of quotations, expressed by those who have crossed this 'bridge.'

Egypt, as this great geographic and demographic bridge of the globe, enjoys a perennially mild climate. The great river Nile, the Mediterranean, and the Red Sea, provide the richness of waters in contrast to the desert areas, which comprise ninety-three percent of the total land area and represent the intrigue, obsession and adventure of the country. The Delta, and many oases scattered around the desert, constitute the "life," which, along with the banks of the Nile, houses ninety-five percent of the country's fifty million population. This physical contrast and contradiction, where the reality of life and death is only the few meters between irrigated land and the desert edge, comprises a rich environment of complexity.

### Cairo

Representing the intellectual center of the Islamic world, and a cultural and political center of the Arab world, is the largest city from the Southern Alps to India. Contributing to the reality, fifty percent of the country's population living in the cities, Cairo presents overbearing and overpowering impact on those living in it. The city was founded 1,000 years ago, along with its first,

and the world's oldest, university. Continuously, throughout its history, it has presented to the travelers, a romanticism beyond the scope of its immediate appearance of dirt, noise and crowds.

This travelers' intrigue, with its history and traditions, brought one and half million tourists in 1980, with a revenue of 400 million Egyptian Pounds.

Two of the late President Sadat's themes:

- 1) Economic "liberation" as an official government open-door policy; and
- 2) Tourism as an avenue for strengthening friendship, peace and cooperation among peoples of the world, as well as its contribution to the economy. . .are major contributors to the international involvement and business representation described previously in the "The Setting." (p.25).

As the above Government policy continues with the regime of President Mubarak, the transcultural communicational nature of Cairo remains as a sample/model center for the development of a future global man.

The above historical backdrop, and the current international involvement, represent the two juxtaposed faces of Cairo. The typical characteristics of its physical appearance are dominated by the constant sight of construction; industrial, business and trade expansion; and overcrowdedness. Population increase, as a result of peace and economic development, is estimated at about one million a

year, with a drop in the death rate, due to better health care facilities. Food shortages, housing and inflation are the country's major domestic challenges. Overpopulation, urban poverty, dirt and unplanned rapid expansion, are the major results of urban migration.

Cairo, with these apparent characteristics, places a very special stress environment for those who come from small communities in suburbs of the Western world. But, if such foreigners are marginal to the city, so are the millions of Egyptians inhabiting the city. Economic growth potential, and industrial emphasis have resulted in the modern demographic reality of urban migration. The local social and cultural characteristics of the city have polarized at two apparent extremes, yet are united in tradition and history. At one extreme, conservatism, mannerisms and appearances, the traditionalism in social mores and family interactions, and very personalized relationships dominate. This is also the social and economic lower class, with low incomes, high birth rates, inhabiting inadequate housing, yet dominating the masses of Cairo. At the other extreme are the upper middle, and upper socioeconomic classes, with sports or social club memberships, western education, with multilingualism, highly sophisticated mannerisms and styles of dressing, entertainment choices and general behavior along western lines. The irony of it is that beneath the surface of the country's social and economic hierarchy, there is a melting of differences and a unification in the

dominant aspects of its traditions and customs. At the juncture of these two polarized socioeconomic classes of Egypt, resides the "foreign" community; interacting equally with both, although with two different sets of interactive patterns.

Most persons in the foreign community are there because of professional involvement. Where they reside, by and large, is not restricted by any governmental laws and regulations, or any other restrictions, as is true of other predominantly Islamic neighbors within the Middle East. The foreign community is not enclosed but scattered around the city, largely due to either the location of their professional involvement, or because of the nearness to a school for their children. The members of the community interact daily with both the Egyptians from lower and upper classes.

The foreign community's relationships with the lower classes are basically those of the latter providing services for their survival. This includes domestic servants, drivers, gardeners, nannies, cooks, merchants of the foreigner-frequented shops, household repairmen, etc. Most of these positions are filled by those uprooted, marginal urban migrants (Coelho and Kaplan, 1982). The foreign community's more professional and technical relationships are with the upper professional classes, with whom, as counterparts they link the transcultural communications within multinational involvement.

The equality of professionalism and technical knowledge is broken down only when the local counterpart's traditional heritage surfaces, bringing the relationship to the same interaction patterns.

### Nature of the Peace

A separate emphasis in this section should be given to peace as one of the most fascinating and idealized human conditions. It is not a goal only, or ideal for Egyptians, but an aspect of their human nature. The morning after the assassination of President Sadat, I travelled the streets of Cairo to observe and record the Nation's reaction and observance of such a personal grievance and political challenge. Nowhere this researcher has lived and visited would have reacted that day as Egyptians did. A passive acceptance of its reality, combined with a "we must go on" with our daily lives, gave Cairo's streets an unbelievable calm and "normal" feeling.

This combination of acceptance, and concern for the peaceful handling of all of life's daily affairs, can cause the non-Egyptian great frustration at the outset, but equally there is respect for the very civil, almost elegant manner, in which they handle human affairs. In fact, this researcher strongly believes that this concern for harmony and civility should be taken as a model for coping in today's world. It is another positive factor for Egypt as the setting for this research on "identity" among participants in and of the third culture.

THE SCHOOL AND ITS SETTING  
CAIRO AMERICAN COLLEGE  
C.A.C.

Cairo American College, or, as it is better known among the third culture communities of Cairo, "C.A.C.," is located in "Maadi" a suburb of Cairo along the Nile, six miles south of the center of the city. Maadi, as a residential and cultural center for the large members of the third culture that surround the school, will be discussed later in the following chapter.

Presently, a proper picture of all the characteristics of C.A.C. will be presented for a comprehensive conceptualization of the school, and its setting. The school represents one of the most influential elements shaping the third culture identity of internationally mobile youth.

C.A.C. and Its Definition

Defining the elements of the school's name;

CAIRO (C) represents the following:

- 1) The geographical location of the school, the capital city of Egypt.
- 2) The social, cultural and political moment in history where, contemporarily, Cairo represents a broad and significant involvement in many spheres of international concern.

- 3) Enrichment opportunities in local culture and language are provided through educational courses and activities of the school.
- 4) Finally, the legal position as an educational institution vis-a-vis the Egyptian Government. As far as this particular school's creditability and existence is concerned, there is no legal recognition established by the Egyptian Government. The status of the school is its independent existence, for providing educational opportunities to the dependent children of foreign workers in Egypt but, this status is not restricted or recognized by any laws of the local Government.

AMERICAN (A) represents the following:

- 1) C.A.C. is established to provide an American-type elementary and secondary education to American and other national children residing in Egypt.
- 2) The school offers educational programs and activities comparable to higher standard American schools in the U.S.A.
- 3) The curriculum is "that of U.S. general academic, college-preparatory public schools" (fact sheets CAC 1981-82).
- 4) Instruction in the school is in English.
- 5) Both the elementary and secondary school have accreditation obtained in 1980 through the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools in the U.S.A.

COLLEGE (C) represents the following:

- 1) The term "College" refers, within the educational description of the Egyptian official terminology, to any institution which incorporates both elementary and secondary divisions.

The definitions of Cairo American College given by the U.S. Department of State Overseas Schools Advisory Council is the following:

Cairo American College is an independent co-educational day school which offers an educational program from kindergarten through grade 12 (K-12) for students of all nationalities (Fact Sheets CAC 1981-82).

The International Schools Services (ISS) directory classifies C.A.C. under: Private non-profit international school with U.S. State Department assistance (ISS Directory 1982-83).

C.A.C. aims at providing an educational atmosphere in which its students may attain knowledge and understanding within the boundaries of "civility and challenge" (Cairo American College, 1982-83). Within the above scope, the school does not attempt to define its purpose narrowly but, envisions it broadly with the following tasks:

- 1) To provide the students with knowledge and skills to cope with the existing environment's challenge, change and work.
- 2) To develop individuality, such that the students can select intelligently, have courage and dignity "to look at themselves and their world with a critical



mind and constructive purpose (Cairo American College, 1982-83).

Within the above scope of tasks, the goal of C.A.C. is to provide for the development of individual abilities and interests to the fullest extent. To achieve this goal, C.A.C. continuously strives toward developing and maintaining strong core subjects, educational and activity dimensions broader than traditional courses, alongside individualized services, according to needs.

#### Philosophy of C.A.C.

The C.A.C. curriculum, and its other activities and service programs, are conceptualized and offered on the basis of the following guidelines established since the school's founding in 1945:

- 1) To provide its students with knowledge, skills and attitudes which prepare them for continuing growth, further education, and participation in the affairs of life to the maximum of their capacity.
- 2) To make the most of the advantages of a multinational student body.
- 3) To provide a program in which the educational activities create an appreciation of the Egyptian environment.
- 4) To recognize individual differences and to provide for these differences as ably as the resources of the school allow.

- 5) To strive for continuing progress in meeting the physical, moral and intellectual needs of its students.

The above mentioned philosophical foundations comprehensively interact with the previously stated school objectives, definitions and status.

#### History of C.A.C.

Cairo American School was established in 1945, by a group of American businessmen and missionaries to serve the educational needs of their dependent children. Original funding at that time was provided by Socony Vacuum Company. Classes began in September, 1945 in Maadi with only an elementary enrollment of 50 students. From its foundation, it has followed the U.S. system of education but its student body has included international dependent children in Cairo.

From 1945 to 1955, the school gradually expanded as enrollment increased, and a kindergarten was added. An additional building was added. In three years the enrollment doubled, and the high school opened with four members of the graduating class. By 1955 the school had had five principals, and numerous teachers, the exact numbers of which are not known. The original school, established in 1945, was not at the current location, but elsewhere, in Maadi. During these ten years there was a constant fear that the school might close for insufficient funding.

During the same years, the 11th and 12th grades had to be dropped because of lack of students and physical education was not always offered because of a lack of teachers. 1952 marked the year of the lowest enrollment, and the financial crisis. The secondary school was let go, and no more meals were offered to the students. The budget was cut and tuitions were increased. By the end of the year, the political atmosphere of the city was such that public feelings toward the Americans in the city, and therefore, towards the school, were not creditable, so much so that near the end of the year the school had to be closed for a week and a half because of the burning of Cairo. All concerned agreed that this was not an admirable year in the history of C.A.C.

There were no detailed records available for the first ten years of the school as to its staff, students and curriculum details.

To establish continuity and a progressional growth pattern, the following points in its history are selected to provide the reader with a visual picture of that growth.

#### 1955 and C.A.C.

In 1955, Cairo American School moved to another location in Maadi, due to its growth, and changed its name to Cairo American College, by incorporating in its structure both the elementary and secondary levels of education. The new location was a palace built about a decade before by a

Prince Mohammed Ali Ibrahim. Students of the time speak with pride of their "palace" school. The palace contained pink alabaster bathrooms, gold vaulted ceilings and courtyard fountains. Throughout the following decades, until the school moved to its present location, students reflected in memory that the most popular pastime during those years, was dreaming about the Prince's life in the palace.

In 1955 the enrollment was two hundred and fifty students from thirty-six U.S. states, two territories and five other nationalities. Administrative and teaching staff were:

- Superintendent
- Elementary and secondary principals
- High school teaching staff 10: 1 - Ph.D.
- (All teaching staff were U.S. 4 - M.A.  
citizens except for 2 Egyptians)
- Teaching subjects: English Art  
French Social Studies  
Arabic Math, Science  
Athletics Home Economics  
Music
- School Board: 1 Chairman  
10 Members
- Clubs, Societies: Honors Society  
Student Council  
Student Court  
Sport Activities

## Boy/Girl Scouts

## P.T.O.

The following were the affiliations of the School Board members, all of whom were U.S. citizens,

- Chairman: Socony Vacuum Company
- Members: Socony Vacuum Company
- T.W.A. (two members)
- P.T.A. president
- Director of Education - 'Point IV'
- Commander, U.S. Navy (Ph.D.)
- Dean, American University Cairo (Ph.D.)
- U.S. Embassy
- Coca Cola

Students 1-12 Grades

12 grade - 7 students (5 U.S. citizens/2 U.S. citizens  
of

Egyptian cultural origins.

11 grade - 6 students

10 grade - 11 students

9 grade - 12 students

7-8 grade - 32 students

elementary - 90 students

The above figures were the totals at the time of graduation (Cairo American College Yearbook, 1955).

1962 and C.A.C.

The 1962 yearbook marks the year with the largest and the most international enrollment recorded in the school's

history up to that point.

The school board was comprised of a chairman and fifteen members. The following are the professional affiliations of the board members in 1962:

Chairman:	U.S. Embassy
Vice Chairman:	(U.S. Navy)
Members:	Mobil Oil
	U.S. Embassy
	(U.S. Navy) (3 members)
	U.S. Army Attache
	UNESCO
	U.S. Consul
	American University Cairo (2 members)
	AID
	PFIZER, Egypt
	- U.S. Military
	U.S. Army Attache

High school faculty members - 22: (details as to nationalities were not available.)

### Students

12th grade - 15 students:	9 U.S. citizens
	3 Indonesians - Diplomatic
	2 Norwegians - High
	Technical Advisors
	1 Moroccan - Diplomatic
11th grade - 12 students:	9 U.S. citizens
	1 Norwegian

1 Dutch

1 Thai

10th grade - 17 students: 11 U.S. citizens

1 Swiss

1 Hungarian

1 Indian

1 Japanese

1 Yugoslavian

1 Spanish

9th grade - 19 students: 14 U.S. citizens

2 Yugoslavian

1 French

1 Japanese

1 Danish

7-8 grade - 52 students: 38 U.S. citizens

3 Yugoslavin

2 British

4 Japanese

1 Iranian

1 Hungarian

1 Canadian

1 French

1 Norwegian

Elementary Enrollment was 139

Total enrollment = 250

## CAIRO AMERICAN COLLEGE

## 1982-83 Academic Year School Profile

Administrative Staff

Superintendent:	Ph.D., German Citizen
Secondary School Principal:	M.A., U.S. Citizen
Assistant Secondary School	
Principal:	B.A., U.S. Citizen
Elementary School Principal:	M.A., U.S. Citizen
Assistant Elementary School	
Principal:	MEd, U.S. Citizen
Business Manager:	B.S., Egyptian Citizen

A staff of thirty clerical and support staff with twenty Egyptians and ten Americans (several dependent wives) are the support system of the central administration.

Teaching Staff

Presently there are 130 full-time teachers on the staff of C.A.C. covering a wide range of subjects and specialized disciplines. The school recruits mostly American teachers with a background of teaching in the U.S. and overseas schools. Approximately seventy percent of the teaching staff are hired from abroad for an initial two year contract term. Local resident American and Egyptian teachers are also recruited. The establishment of standardized teaching programs that might be transferred year to year



and the encouragement of extending additional contract terms, are major attempts to maintain continuity and quality of instruction.

- Nationality of the teaching staff (7-12 grades):

U.S. National	50	
Egyptian	8	
European	<u>9</u>	
	67	61 teaching
		6 counseling

- Academic Final Degrees (7-12 grades):

BA/BS	22
MA/MS/MEd.	42
Ph.D.	3

- Length of C.A.C. Service (7-12 grades):

Less than one year	30%
One to two years	30%
Two years or more	40%

- The average of total teaching experience is 8 years.

C.A.C. strongly encourages the recruitment of teaching staff with commitments to extra-curricular activities which are essential in overseas schools where the school provides a large portion of the after-school activities. In-service training programs and participation in professional conferences in the Near East region and the U.S. are provided for staff enrichment.

### Curriculum

C.A.C. offers courses in 18 subject areas:

- 10 college prep core courses
- 8 applied arts/music/business/etc.

At grade levels 7-12:

- 46 teachers teach college prep core courses
- 15 teachers teach support and co-curriculum courses.

### Program

The school is open to all nationalities but follows a program similar to institutions of high academic standing in the United States. A minimum of 22 Carnegie units of credit is required for graduation; included among these must be 4 English, 3 social studies, 2 mathematics, 2 laboratory science, and 2 foreign language, plus 2 years of physical education. Periods are 45 minutes long and all courses meet five periods each week for 36 weeks. There is an average of 15 students in each class in grades 9-12. Among the courses offered this year are Honors English 9-12, interdisciplinary social science, biology, and chemistry; there are Advanced Placement courses in English, mathematics, art, French, and Spanish plus an advanced biology course. C.A.C. is fully accredited by the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools.

### Grades

This year C.A.C. changed from a semester to a yearly basis for most courses; i.e. there will be just one final grade for the year, except, of course, for half-year courses. The grading scale is:

A = 90 - 100

B = 80 - 89

C = 70 - 79

D = 60 - 69

F = Below 60

WP = Withdrew Passing

WF = Withdrew Failing

A very few courses are graded on a pass/fail basis.

### Class Rank, Grade Point Average, and Honor Roll

Class rank is based on the grade point average determined from the work in grades nine through twelve. The GPA is based only on subjects from the English, social studies, mathematics, science, and foreign language departments. No courses are weighted in determining the GPA. In order to be on the quarterly roll a student must have a 3.4 GPA based on subjects from all departments. Although pluses and minuses appear on the transcript (Beginning this year), they are not used in computing either class rank or the honor roll.

The following table is presented as a sample of grade point averages of grade 12 according to nationality, sex, parent professional affiliation.

Table 7. Cairo American College Senior Class 1982-83  
Grade Point Average Standing According  
to Nationality, Sex and Parental  
Professional Affiliation

Rank	GPA	Nationality	Sex	Parent Affiliation
1	4.00	U.S.A.	F	Oil
2	3.94	U.S.A.	M	Business
3	3.83	U.S.A.	F	Oil
4	3.81	Egypt	F	High Advisor
5	3.80	U.S.A.	F	High Advisor
6	3.77	U.S.A.	F	High Advisor
7	3.74	Germany	M	Business
7	3.74	U.S.A.	F	Oil
9	3.58	U.S.A.	M	Business
10	3.67	U.S.A.	F	Business
11	3.64	U.S.A.	M	Oil
12	3.63	U.S.A.	F	Oil
13	3.58	U.S.A.	F	Diplomatic
14	3.57	U.S.A.	F	Oil
15	3.54	U.S.A.	F	Oil
16	3.46	U.S.A.	F	AID
17	3.45	U.S.A.	F	AID
18	3.40	India	F	High Advisor
19	3.24	Yugoslavia	F	High Advisor
20	3.19	U.S.A.	M	Business
21	3.18	U.S.A.	M	AID
21	3.18	U.S.A.	F	Oil
23	3.17	Egypt	F	Diplomatic
24	3.14	Japan	F	Business
25	3.02	U.S.A.	F	High Advisor
26	2.19	U.S.A.	M	High Advisor
27	2.18	U.S.A.	M	Business
28	2.18	U.S.A.	M	Diplomatic
29	2.15	U.S.A.	F	Diplomatic
30	2.09	Egypt	F	Diplomatic
31	2.06	Libya	M	Business
32	2.02	U.S.A.	M	AID
33	2.00	Great Britain	F	Business
33	2.00	U.S.A.	M	High Advisor
35	1.96	U.S.A.	M	High Advisor
36	1.93	Lebanon	M	Business
37	1.89	U.S.A.	M	Diplomatic
38	1.80	Canada	F	AID
39	1.75	U.S.A.	F	High Advisor
40	1.72	U.S.A.	F	Oil
41	1.47	Canada	F	Business
42	1.44	U.S.A.	F	High Advisor
43	1.40	U.S.A.	F	High Advisor
44	1.33	U.S.A.	M	Diplomatic
45	1.32	U.S.A.	M	High Advisor
46	Unranked	U.S.A.	M	AID

### College Acceptances

At least sixty-seven percent of C.A.C.'s last year graduates have gone on to four year colleges, and another nine percent are attending two- or three-year institutions. Some colleges which accepted members of the class of 1982 are: University of Alberta (Canada), American University (Washington, D.C.), American University in Cairo, Boston University, Cairo University (Egypt), Colorado School of Mines, University of Colorado, Columbia University, Cornell University, Dartmouth College, Duke University, Earlham College, University of Florida, Einshams University (Egypt), Georgetown University, George Washington University, University of Georgia, University of Houston, International Christian University (Japan), Ithaca College, University of Massachusetts, Northwestern University, Pennsylvania State University, Princeton University, San Diego State University, Syracuse University, Texas A&M University, University of Texas (Arlington), University of Virginia, and Yale University.

### Co-curriculum

Athletics: Full intra-mural and varsity sports program - including regular overseas meets with other American international schools in Europe and Middle East.

Activities: Student council, as well as speech, debate, drama, photography, culture, and international clubs.

Assemblies: National honor society, student council - model UN, Close Up (on U.S. Government process).

Publications: Yearbook (The Pharoah); campus newspaper (The Eagle); literary magazine (Papyrus).

Social Events: Typical calendar of seasonal events, many held in "Student Center," a separate lounge/snack bar, on top of the secondary school complex.

Services: 1) Career and guidance counseling--separate counseling is provided for: 7-8 grade; 9-10 grade; 11-12 grade; 2) College Board Testing Program; 3) Community Services Association; 4) Library (Media Center); 5) Student bus transportation throughout greater Cairo; 6) Health services - aquatics - school store -.

### Student Body

The make-up of the student body characteristics are presented in three independent variable categories: Tables 8, 9 and 10 present 1982-83 Academic year distributions of; major nationality groupings - Table 8, parental professional affiliations - Table 9, and distribution by sex - Table 10. See detailed Tables 8, 9, 10.

### Board of Directors

- 1) Eleven member, self-perpetuating by the professional representation constituent the Board of Directors.

**Table 8. Distribution of Cairo American College  
Student Body Three Major Nationality Groupings  
1982-83 Academic Year  
7-12 Grades**

	North American	Western European	Third World
No. of Countries	2	11	27
No. of Students 7-12	403	64	155
Percentage	64.9%	10.2%	24.9%

American 382 (61.4%)  
Non-American 240 (38.6%)

**Note: Local National Representation (Egyptians):**

Grades: 7-12  
Total Students: 29  
Percentage: 4.7%

-Students of Egyptian cultural origin, but holders of non Egyptian passports, are not considered local nationals.

-All nationalities of students at C.A.C. are determined by passport of student concerned.

**Source: Office of the Registrar**

**Table 9. Distribution of Cairo American  
College Student Body by Parents'  
Professional Affiliation  
1982-83 Academic Year  
(Grades K-12)**

Profession	Nationality			Total
	U.S.	Host	3rd Country	
Diplomatic/ Military	137 (11.3%)	6 (0.5%)	79 (6.5%)	222 (18.3%)
AID	153 (12.6%)	----	----	153 (12.6%)
Business	408 (33.7)	49 (4.0%)	355 (29.3%)	812 (66.9%)
Religious	16 (1.3%)	----	----	16 (1.3%)
Technical	7 (0.6%)	2 (0.1%)	----	9 (0.7%)

**Note:** A breakdown of the Business Category  
could not be obtained. 7-12 breakdown  
could not be obtained.

**Source:** Office of the Registrar



**Table 10. Distribution of Cairo American  
College Student Body By Sex  
1982-83 Academic Year  
(7-12 Enrollment)**

<b>Grades</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
7	68	56
8	59	54
9	47	49
10	51	63
11	45	44
12	37	49
<b>Total 7-12</b>	<b>307</b>	<b>315</b>
<b>Total K-6</b>	<b>343</b>	<b>289</b>
<b>Total School</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>604</b>

**Source: Office of the Registrar**

- 2) Represents "major" constitute communities of school.
- 3) 1982-83 breakdown:
 

Diplomatic/military:	2
AID:	1
Business	6 (3 oil companies)
	(1 bank)
	(1 legal firm)
	(1 defense contractor)
High Technical:	2
Male - 10	Female - 1
- 4) Meet monthly during school year.
- 5) Board membership corresponds closely to actual student enrollment percentages by parents' professional affiliation.
- 6) All members are American, reflecting the American "theme" of the school as a whole, despite almost forty percent of students being of non-American nationality.

#### The School Setting and Its Facilities

C.A.C. moved to its present location in 1970. It is now located on an eleven-acre campus with extensive facilities for both the elementary (kindergarten - 6) and secondary school (7-12).

### Elementary School

The modern elementary buildings were completed in 1970. The subsequent completion of elementary "pods," inclusive of elementary art and music rooms, currently completes the elementary facilities. Presently the elementary school is housed in six buildings. Special facilities provided for the elementary grades include: 1) reading

- 2) music and art
- 3) learning disabilities
- 4) enrichment programs
- 5) counseling services
- 6) Arab culture
- 7) foreign languages (Arabic, French, Spanish)
- 8) physical education

The average class size for elementary levels ranges from sixteen to twenty students.

### Secondary School

The school is located in a large building containing the 9-12 grades. A separate 7-8 grades building was opened in 1982 with two science labs and class size not exceeding eighteen students. The secondary building opened during the 1977-78 academic year, creating facilities comparable to a modern, suburban, campus-type school in the U.S. The secondary building includes in it the following facilities, along with classrooms, with a class size of not exceeding

twenty students, for the 9-12 grades:

- 1) Media Center: (9,000 sq. ft.) the center houses approximately 30,000 volumes of books (Library) and abundant audio-visual materials.
- 2) The health office
- 3) Central Administration and secondary offices
- 4) Computer education centers
- 5) Music center
- 6) Foreign languages
- 7) Center for English as a Second Language (E.S.L)
- 8) 5 science labs - fully-equipped
- 9) Counseling offices
- 10) A small lecture room
- 11) Art, industrial arts, and photography each occupy separate buildings.

#### Physical Education Facilities

These include an athletic track, (400m) soccer field, tennis, volleyball, and basketball courts (2 each), and a twenty-five meter swimming pool, heated during winter months and open to public for membership year-round in the community. A separate building with weight training, and exercise rooms and a changing/locker area, along with small practice field, complete the athletic facilities.

In 1981-82 the school completed a new theatre/auditorium building fully-equipped for theatrical productions and capable of being used for a variety of

activities such as exhibits, assemblies, dances, and light physical education programs, with a seating capacity of 620 persons. The opening evening at the theatre was one of the highlights of the year, as The American Ambassador was the guest of honor and all of the Board Members were included along with the other guests from the diplomatic and business foreign community. The opening speech of the American Ambassador emphasized the importance of keeping an eye on the image of the American community; the image in the eyes of the host nationals was the emphasis of the speech. C.A.C., the Ambassador continued, plays a part in that role. The role of C.A.C. expressed in that speech was threefold:

- 1) International student body
- 2) Important community role
- 3) Excellent educational programs.

C.A.C., it was further emphasized, has an important role vis-a-vis the expatriate community and the host community. As the ambassador emphasized the intermediary role of the school between the host and expatriate communities, the Chairman of the Board and the Superintendent of the school, further stressed the same emphasis. Added emphasis was made by the superintendent on the provision of the utmost educational opportunities, along with the significance of performing arts in this school. The opening of the theater was an important evening for re-emphasizing the school's place and position and then the audience settled down to

observe a superb performance of "Annie" by the high school students.

In 1982 the school also completed a student-center, housed on the roof of the secondary school building, equipped with audio-visual center, snack-bar and performing facilities. The center is open to 7-8 grade students on Thursday nights (7 p.m. - 10 p.m.) and 9-12 grade students on Friday nights (8 p.m. - 11 p.m.). It is chaperoned on both nights on a voluntary basis by parents. Dancing, socializing, watching of the latest movies through video tapes provided by the parental professional company privileges, are the highlights of these evenings.

#### School Communication

The school issues a weekly "Newsletter" listing an appropriate message from the superintendent on certain important concerns or interests and lists major events and programs of that week. This newsletter is issued on Sundays and is sent home with the students for the attention of the parents. "Newsletter" establishes a major communicational link between parents and the school.

#### Admission Policy

Following are the priorities set as the admission policy of C.A.C.:

- 1) All students holding United States citizenship are admitted to C.A.C.

- 2) Egyptian citizens who meet the language requirements and have been authorized by the Egyptian Ministry of Education are admitted to C.A.C.
- 3) Other applicants are admitted to C.A.C. whenever:
  - the space is available
  - the applicant attended C.A.C. previously
  - the applicant currently has a sibling in the school
  - the particular applicant's educational needs can be met by the programs offered at C.A.C.
  - the non-native speakers of English who are not fluent in the language may be admitted to the ESL program on a space available basis.

#### Financial Status of C.A.C.

Cairo American College is a non-profit, private institution governed by a self-perpetuating Board of Directors. Seventy-five percent of the school's income is earned by the school's registration and tuition fees. In addition to tuition fees, there are: registration fee; bus service; building and construction fees; assessment fee; English as a Second Language fee; and book deposits. C.A.C. is a member of the U.S. Department of State Overseas Schools Advisory Council. Through this attachment, the school receives modest additional funding from the U.S. Government.

English as a Second Language E.S.L Program

- 1) Non-native speakers of English who are not fluent in the language may be admitted to the ESL program on a space available basis.
- 2) Students are placed in the ESL program in the secondary school according to scores on the English language placement tests.
- 3) Grade placement of students is determined by the secondary school counselors.
- 4) No student in grade 11 or 12 is allowed into ESL courses with the possible exception of students in grade 11 with strong grammatical backgrounds in English but who need help with verbal skills.
- 5) 10th grade students are only accepted into advanced sections.
- 6) 9th grade students are only accepted into intermediate or advanced sections.
- 7) Only 7th and 8th grade students are accepted at the basic ESL level.

According to an interview with the Director of the Program, students' progress in ESL courses and regular courses are evaluated quarterly. Students are allowed to continue in the program and/or enter regular classes based on their progress and teacher recommendations. It was pointed out with emphasis that many high school honor students of the past four to five years have been ex-ESL students.



Table 11 shows the distribution of ESL students at CAC according to grades and levels.

ESL students remain in this program until they can cope with courses in the mainstream curriculum. In the secondary school there are ESL science and ESL social studies classes for students who are not beginners but who are not quite ready for many non-ESL courses.

The number of currently enrolled ESL students and their nationality backgrounds are presented in Table 11.

#### Parent-Teacher Organization (P.T.O.)

Purpose: The purpose of P.T.O. is to serve as a channel of communication between parents, administrators and teachers of the school. Within this purpose, common interest is the welfare of the students. Toward this interest, the P.T.O. during 1982-83 academic year has organized monthly gatherings on varying educational, and social topics.

The P.T.O. serves its purpose through a board consisting of:

- 1 President - U.S. citizen
- 1 Vice President - U.S. citizen
- 1 Secretary - U.S. citizen
- 1 Treasurer - U.S. citizen
- 4 Members at Large - U.S. citizens

Table 11. Cairo American College  
1982-83 Academic Year

English as a Second Language (ESL) Students		
	Non-European	European
Grades 7 and 8 Beginning Level	2	2
Grades 7 and 8 Intermediate Level	4	4
Grades 7 and 8 Advanced Level	None	None
Grades 7 and 8 Unclassified	2	1
Grades 9 and 10 Beginning Level	None	None
Grades 9 and 10 Intermediate Level	6	None
Grades 9 and 10 Advanced Level	6	3
Grades 9 and 10 Unclassified	4	2

Total Grades 7 and 8 = 15

Total Grades 9 and 10 = 21

School Total = 36

Source: ESL Department  
C.A.C.

### A Typical Day at C.A.C.

A typical day at C.A.C. begins around 7:30 a.m. and ends around 11:00 p.m. with academic time table between 8:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m. Here, description of a typical day's visual picture will be presented for the purpose of incorporating life and movement into the facts and figures presented in this Chapter.

Between 7:30 a.m. and 8:00 a.m. is the time of arrival to the school. At this time, the wide street in front of the gate will be crowded with parents, drivers, children's caretakers, and, of course, the students. A separate gate is designated for the school buses. The school operates a fleet of sixteen school buses providing a basic service to families not living within close proximity to the campus. The precise routes and times are established each year depending on the settlement patterns of the third culture communities, and the ability of the school to provide the service on a safe and timely basis. This last criterion is particularly important because of Cairo's immensely spread-out settlement characteristics and its large unregulated and crowded traffic pattern. This bus service of the school does not include responsibility on the school before students get on the bus in the morning and after they get off the bus in the afternoon. Bus monitors supervise about 360 students who take buses daily.

The typical pattern of how students come to school varies. Higher diplomatic community dependents with

particular security risk are driven to school by official drivers. Other students, however, belonging to higher status business, or official community do also arrive in chauffeur driven cars. The number of students arriving this way is not large. The majority of students come to school by foot or bicycles, mostly from the residential Maadi community surrounding the school. Some parents do drive their children to school and private company vehicles are not uncommon, although small in number.

As students arrive, the first scene they face is the presence of school guards; a private school protection force hired through an outside firm, "Care Service Ltd." This protection of the school was established after the assassination of Late President Anwar Sadat on October 6th, 1981. The guard squad consists of two official policemen with sub-machine guns and a uniformed English-speaking representative of the firm. This is not an unusual sight for the students or the foreign residents of Cairo. All local public or other official buildings, foreign embassies and official residences of the foreign community do share this scene at their entrances. Students and regular visitors of the school do not even take notice of this special protection and even take it for granted. Guard positions are a security measure in view of unpleasant acts against foreign communities in other parts of the world.

At first sight, when hundreds of C.A.C. students enter the gates of the school, one observes the international

nature of the physical appearances. This is expressed by the superintendent in the following words, "Cairo American College is an American school with an international dimension." This international nature of the composition of the student body presents an exciting and often-times dramatic setting. The school represents an amalgam of languages, customs and backgrounds of students. These differences are most pronounced at the beginning of the year when cultural preferences of the appropriate school dress is most obvious. Within the first few months, a progressive "Americanization" of clothing style occurs as American T-shirts, shorts, and shoes replace more dressy earlier appearances.

At the beginning of the year, T-shirts depicting the names or characteristics of previous international posts also are common in the inscriptions on the T-shirts of newcomers. "T-shirts" of course, are an international phenomenon. At C.A.C., T-shirts represent an inter-communicational link, just as anywhere else in the world. Through its inscriptions, the life experiences, history, feelings, opinions, and future aspirations of the bearer is communicated to the world at large. "T-shirt" inscriptions at C.A.C. if classified, fall into the following categories:

- T-shirts commenting on C.A.C. - eg.:

- "After 5 days return to C.A.C."

"Cairo American College" (written from right to left like Arabic)

"Ma'lesh (never mind) Cairo Egypt"

- T-shirts commenting on the person's status in Egypt - eg.:

"I am not a tourist I live here"

- T-shirts commenting on school activities - e.g.:

"Turkey, Trot, 24 hour marathon"

"1983 Fine arts festival"

- T-shirts commenting on the students latest holiday or vacation places, which are usually outside Egypt in nearby nations in the region - e.g.:

"My parents went to Kenya and all they brought me is this T-shirt"

(T-shirts depicting scenes from Kenya, Israel, Greece, Turkey, Lebanon are common in this group)

- T-shirts commenting on their interpersonal relationships and self-concepts - e.g.:

"Insanity is hereditary you get it from your parents"

"The \*Master\* is in charge good until eternity"

The above classes of T-shirt inscriptions represent the general culture of T-shirt phenomenon at C.A.C.

Parents, drivers and caretakers also have a wide range of types of clothing as they arrive at the school with the students. High diplomatic officials in their most formal day suits and foreign technicians in their more casual work attire are not unusual styles of clothing. Caretakers and drivers are the most obvious in their appearance because

they represent the local culture. Parental cultural affiliation and attitude toward the concept of status of the school all reflect, not only how they dress coming to school, but how they choose to dress their kids. However, ironically, such differences occurring at the beginning of the year disappear, at least as far as the students are concerned, as the year progresses. Even at the beginning of the year, it is very common to see parents, from all cultural or national backgrounds, in front of the school store, purchasing C.A.C. clothes. This is a transformation of newcomers' identity to the unspoken expectations concerning the appearance of the students, set by the more senior residents of the school.

As one enters the grounds with the students and tours it visually from a central point, C.A.C. becomes acculturated. Its physical setting, architecture, grounds and sports facilities can be taken out of this national, cultural context and replanted elsewhere, anywhere in the world without losing its dominant characteristic--which is the overseas American international school. This researcher's observations of other international schools within the Eastern Mediterranean region confirm this observation. This means that at first sight, the visual impact of the school does not reflect the characteristics of its geographic location or cultural setting. When one enters the school, one enters the unique and isolated world of the overseas school, separate from the local setting in which it is located.

One dominant scene of the school's physical appearance is the announcement boards, which not only serve the students, but the third culture community's interests, concerns, and needs. Advertisements for housing, household possessions, maids, drivers, caretakers, and cooks are common. In addition, announcements for community activities, meetings, events and cultural activities at centers around Cairo also appear on these boards. More student-oriented boards include brochures of U.S. universities or colleges, clippings from the "International Herald Tribune" (widely circulated international newspaper) on current political or social events, warnings against the use of alcohol or drugs, student activities, posters from around the world and rules governing the school's evacuation procedures. The fact that the school announcement boards are full of information is not an unusual scene for any school, but C.A.C. as an overseas school does post certain information and announcements which are typical of its classification. As an example of the international nature of the cultural events of Cairo, posters and brochures from all over the world, for different schools and universities, are unique to this kind of school. Schools' evacuation regulations are also unique in that they represent a preventive measure in case of national emergency situations. Such notices are also common in all foreign community official buildings in Cairo. Advertisements for drivers, cooks, gardeners and other service



personnel are quite unique to the third culture communities in Cairo.

C.A.C. is a growing institution. As the foreign and particularly the American community expands in Egypt, so must the school. This expansion during the last eight to ten years forced the school to add continuously to its original construction. Every year a new building or facility is added. In 1982-83 school year, the new 7-8 grade building, arts and industrial arts buildings and the theatre were added to the school. School construction projects bring to the school teams of construction workers. These local laborers, in their most traditional clothes, move around the school as though they are suspended in the atmosphere above the school grounds. They go about their work in total isolation from the activities and movements of the students and staff of the school. No interaction takes place between the students and the workers. Despite such a cultural gap between them, the workers' curiosity, if it exists, remains unexpressed and private. This separation between the students of the school and the outside contract workers also exists between the students and the permanent grounds employees of the school. Their presence is more personal or possessive vis-a-vis the school, but their interaction with the students is minimal. Degrading treatment by the students, particularly in the elementary levels, does occur, when the students feel a restriction on their activities by the work

involvement of the workers. However, passive reactions by the workers, in ignoring or moving away, does resolve the conflict. Because of the community workers' involvement in the school, local culture enters the school but remains isolated just the same as the third culture community outside the school isolates itself from the local counterpart.

A general, "well-behaved" impression of the student body at all grade levels, is an obvious first and continuous impression. Physical or verbal interactions are conducted at a relatively sophisticated level from the standpoint of any cultural criterion. Physical fights and derogatory language have almost never been observed by this researcher during the two academic years of observations. The language of the school is English, even though different accents are not uncommon. If one listens beneath the prevailing sounds of English, occasional national languages and local Arabic expressions surface, but, this is not very dominant.

During the school hours, movements across the campus as students attend different classes and sports activities are typical patterns observable in an educational institution anywhere around the globe. Classrooms reflect teachers' personality and the subject matter of the class. Internationally mobile teachers do project their world-wide experiences through chosen clippings on their walls. Sensitivity posters or inscriptions concerning world human

problems such as hunger and over-population do appear in certain teachers' rooms. National posters from previous posts are another wall decoration which is common at C.A.C. classrooms. International Herald Tribune, Time and News-week magazines lie freely on the desks in classrooms and clippings from them are pinned on the walls. Internationalism and international issues are constant visual impacts at C.A.C. Activities at other international schools, and the results of the international sport or cultural competitions are announced with pride, particularly if C.A.C. accomplished a major victory at the event.

General good behavior in classrooms is quite impressive. Sitting and interaction patterns are sophisticated and the choice of vocabulary and expressiveness is rich. Student characteristics will be discussed in the following chapter where a further detailed analysis will be made.

Three in the afternoon marks the end of the day's academic program. From then until 5:30, student after-school activities begin. After-school activities are very important and include a wide range at C.A.C. This stems from the philosophy that school is not only an academic institution but a total community institution where students' after-school recreational and other activities take emphasis.

Lack of other community resources at overseas international communities increases the importance of school providing after-school activities. C.A.C. is not outside

of this principle. Organized after-school activities in areas of sports, fine arts and social areas are very common for all grades. This emphasis keeps the school occupied with students until early evening hours. These are the hours the school truly transforms itself into a community club atmosphere. School is a habitual recreational center for the community members as well as the students. It is a home away from home. Newcomers and more senior residents alike, inhabit the grounds during after-school hours. Mothers or caretakers with toddlers occupy the playgrounds and parents use the track and swimming pool for their daily exercises. The community gathers around the school with no apparent purpose but to be together with other community members. Introductions to the local culture, survival and coping tips are part of the orientation of the newcomers. As spectators take their places at sports activities, conversations do not relate to the particular game in sight but relate to the latest shopping discoveries, vacation sights, servant problems and general problems of living, surviving, and coping in Cairo.

The school establishes the continuity for the third culture community that surrounds it. C.A.C. looks like the schools at other posts and this is where they can see and interact with their nationals, share their frustrations and ease their living problems. It is a place of familiarity and continuity with the life they left behind. After-school hours at C.A.C. are most frequented by American

residents of the community. This is largely due to the social characteristics of American schools' liaison with the American communities in the United States. Other nationals who feel quite detached from the school do not attend school activities or use school for their recreational purposes as much.

Company parties for certain professional groups, organized adult sports activities, student birthday parties may also be seen as after school and/or weekend activities at school.

Organized sports activities of the students are probably the most dominant features of the after school activities at C.A.C. International competitions or competitive games played with other international schools around Cairo are frequent examples of such events. School spirit is usually highest at regional or other international games. Identification with C.A.C., through wearing the school colors and chanting the school slogans, are expressed widely.

As early evening approaches, most students and adults start leaving the school with only a few runners or joggers left behind. As the parked cars and bicycles leave the school, the grounds get their evening refreshment of watering with sounds of sprinklers dominating the scene. This quietness prevails throughout the evening hours. Evening activities at the school do not involve large groups of people, thus, the serenity prevails until the following

morning. Scattered small meetings in library or other meeting rooms may be the typical evening indoor scenes. Theatre productions are the largest gatherings of student and community members in the evenings. Such productions at C.A.C. gather large crowds of spectators and provide the community with the only available relatively sophisticated entertainment. The most internationally attended activities at the school are these theater productions.

Throughout the school year, the school opens its doors to many exciting special events. The following events took place during the 1982-83 school year at C.A.C.:

- 1) Egypt Festival - held during Fall, featuring social, cultural and arts events, reflecting local color and character, all organized by the students and faculty of C.A.C.
- 2) Fine Arts Festival - held during Spring of 1982 is a cultural event with an international character in that international schools within the Middle East and the Mediterranean region are invited to participate.
- 3) 24-hour Marathon - held during Christmas vacation, involves enthusiastic students and community and faculty members to participate in a running marathon lasting 24 hours.
- 4) Charity Bazaar - held pre-Christmas by the "Maadi Women's Guild" to raise money for charity purposes. This bazaar involved local cultural and

international art objects, food, souvenirs, etc.

- 5) "Booster Club" Barbecue - held during Spring,  
"Booster Club" is a parent-student organization established to raise money for student travels outside Egypt. Such travels are co-financed by parents and school.

### Rules and Regulations

As a general guideline, it is expected that students will act in a responsible manner and will exhibit courtesy towards their fellow classmates, teachers and other staff members. Students should respect the private property of other people, school property, and help maintain the cleanliness of the campus. The students should also honor the values and traditions of the host country.

The students at C.A.C. are also expected to follow the following rules and regulations:

- 1) Dress

Students should appear neat and clean. Basically, proper dress is that which is acceptable to a majority of the community and is in good taste for school attendance. The school administration reserves the right to make final judgment on acceptable attire of students. Teachers may refuse students in their classes who are not appropriately dressed. Hats or caps (i.e. baseball caps) are not to be worn inside classrooms.

A new unwritten code announced during April 1983 restricts female students to wear only skirts or slacks and allows boys to wear either slacks or tennis shorts.

If teachers refuse to allow an underdressed student in class, the student is to immediately report to the Assistant Principal. Parents will be notified of the reasons for missing class and students will be required to make up work.

3) Theft

Students are reminded not to leave anything of value unattended either in a classroom, locker, or study area. Generally, students should avoid bringing valuables to school.

4) Vandalism

Respect for the environment at C.A.C. and remembering the countless hours that are spent in keeping campus beautiful is essential. Vandalizing the school affects each member of the C.A.C. community.

5) Smoking

A board policy gives permission for only juniors and seniors to smoke on school grounds subject to the following regulations:

- Junior and senior students who have written parental permission may be allowed to smoke at times and in areas designated by the administration.



- No other student may smoke on school grounds during the school day.

6) Drugs

Unauthorized drugs, including alcoholic beverages, cannot be in the possession of students, nor used by students either on or in the immediate vicinity of the campus. When a member of the C.A.C. staff has reasonable grounds to believe that drugs, drug paraphernalia or other contraband such as dangerous weapons (guns, knives, explosives, etc.) are present on campus, the school will have the right to search or to request the appropriate authorities to search persons, personal possessions and lockers in an attempt to discover such items. This policy is applicable to students who represent C.A.C. traveling within or outside the country. Possession of such items will result in suspension or expulsion.

7) Stereo Recorders/Radios

Students are not to play stereo recorders or radios in or around the academic buildings during classes.

8) Telephones

Students' use of the school telephones is restricted to emergency situations.

9) Pets

For safety and hygienic reasons, pets are not allowed on the school campus.

10) Gum chewing

Students are requested not to chew gum in the classrooms or the academic buildings.

11) Bicycles and Motor Vehicles

The use of bicycles, skateboards and motor vehicles is strictly forbidden on the campus and sidewalks of C.A.C. Procedure: parking for non-motorized bicycles is provided inside the front gate. All bicycle riders must dismount from their bikes before entering the campus.

12) Cheating and Plagiarism

Students found cheating or plagiarizing will be given an "F" on the assignment and the parents will be notified.

13) Student Council

A student court elected by members of the student body assists in administering the rules and regulations. Students interested in running for a post on the court or who have questions should see their Student Council homeroom representative.

## SCHOOL CALENDAR

1982-83

1982	August 29th (Sunday)	First day of school
	Sept. 28th-Oct. 2nd	Big Bairam Feast (local holiday)
	October 6th (Wednesday)	Victory Day (local holiday)
	October 18th (Monday)	Islamic New Year holiday
	November 25th (Thursday)	Thanksgiving Day holiday (U.S. holiday)
	Dec. 22nd-Jan.8th (Wednesday-Saturday)	Christmas holiday
1983	March 24th-April 3rd (Thursday-Sunday)	Easter holiday
	May 9th (Monday)	Sham El Nessim - Birth of Spring (local holiday)
	June 9th (Thursday)	Last day of school

The C.A.C. 1982-83 academic year celebrates a total of seven holidays of which four are locally celebrated official Egyptian holidays and three are holidays not celebrated by the Egyptians but celebrated in the United States.

1st quarter:	August 29th-November 4th-	45 school days
2nd quarter:	November 7th-January 25th-	45 school days
3rd quarter:	January 26th-March 23rd-	41 school days
4th quarter:	April 4th-June 9th-	<u>48 school days</u>
Total		<u>179 school days</u>

Weeks calendar: Sunday through Thursday (Sunday because it is an Islamic country).

Friday, Saturday - weekend

## CHAPTER V

### SOCIAL AND SELF IDENTITY

New trends in the very nature of currently emerging internationally mobile communities have their impact on the also emerging identity characteristics of T.C.K.s.

It has been the dominant theme of this research that the identity characteristics of the T.C.K. are imbedded within the boundaries of their interpersonal relations. Thus to understand the newly-developing dimensions of T.C.K.'s is to understand the very nature of the currently expanding technical third cultures. Following the first section of this chapter, I will examine new trends in the very nature of the international third culture communities and their impact on the identity of their youths. Following this, an analysis of the social and self identities of the more traditional third culture communities will be made.

#### Development of Technical Third Cultures (T.T.C.)

##### Introduction

The world of the T.C.K. is a very rich, dynamic and evergrowing world; reflected by the dynamism within cross-cultural relations, world economic relations, and the world political pressure points shifting and changing. As the

world's elements described above change, all are incorporated within the T.C.K.'s identity. This however should not lead the reader to the conclusion that the identity of the T.C.K. is a tangible and a temporary one. On the contrary the world and identity of the T.C.K., with its dynamism, permanently reflects the dynamism within the interactional patterns of the global setting. Therefore the shifts in its nature and identity are more of a fact than a factor of its circumstance.

Most studies of T.C.K.'s were made around the beginning of the 1960's through the current times, with a concentration in the 1970's. The socio-economic and political setting of that era has been discussed in the literature review section of the research. In this part of the paper new trends in the nature of third cultures will be examined.

### The Conflict

In 1974, Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), at their summit, made a decision to increase the price of oil exported to oil-consuming nations of the world by almost fourfold. Such a decision resulted in a major economic shift in the region in that the economic control of money moved from the Western power centers to Arab hands. Economic and technological investment, banking and

support of social and economic development projects began to be controlled and financed by the Arabs in the region. Thus, an increase in Arab socio-philosophical values was reflected through such avenues. In 1979, Iran's extreme Shiite movement under the leadership of Ayatullah Khomeineh embarked on a socio-political revolution against the ruling kingdom of Shah Riza Pahlevi. There are various implications of that revolution which indirectly changed certain established attitudes of the Middle East region toward Western involvement there. As the Arabs have become more and more economically powerful, their pride in being Arabs has become an international pronouncement. Oil prices have further doubled, increasing that Arab power in the area. Iran's uprising was not only directed toward an undesirable internal rule, but was toward a Western answer to development.

Many overt verbalizations of a need for looking inward for answers to development in the Middle East have begun. The search was into their own socio-economic and political history and contemporary needs and potentials. National technocrats who were trained in the West, and have been expatriates of their countries in the West, have returned to the region, in particular to Egypt, to take on the leadership positions of seeking new answers for development. These have led to the collapse of the Western "dream" schemes of non-western development.

In 1980, President Anwar Sadat of Egypt was assassinated by an extreme Islamic movement, which gave partially their reason as Sadat's out-of-proportion collaboration with Western answers to Egypt's socio-economic problems. Disenchantment with the Western, (what most Arab countries consider one-sided) international politics in the Middle East, favoring the state of Israel, further contributed to the regionalization phenomenon.

Socially, Islam has emerged as moving force for social reform with varying degrees in all Middle Eastern nations, with an international pride in practice. Similar pride extended itself to national and regional cultural heritage. Egypt, particularly under President Mubarak, is very sensitive and calculating in maintaining an East-West non-aligned balance. This effort is particularly necessary to get back into the mainstream of Middle Eastern Arabs after prolonged disapproval of Egypt's peace with Israel.

Arab socio-economic investment in Egypt, though not so pronounced, is significant and socially approved. To be politically successful in the Middle East, including Egypt, political leadership has no course but to follow a route to seek ways of growth within the national resources, with only technical assistance from the West. The above review of the new trends and their complex nature brings along with it a new influence on the changing nature of the internationally-mobile communities. Before examining the characteristics of what this researcher terms the

"Technical Third Cultures," a short look is needed into the technological trends and innovations.

### Technical Trends and New Innovations

The modern age is an age of technology. Its power center, in terms of technical expertise, of know-how and hardware, is still with Western, highly-technologically-developed nations. The above-mentioned social and political development in the Middle East is as much a fact as their continuing need to import technological know-how of the West in order to proceed with further growth and development. It is clear that the role and position of socio-economic Western assistance programs and projects are reduced, but the development needs remain the same with a change in their definition.

The fall of diplomatic solutions to international problems and the third world's increasing need for technology, combined with the needs of independent solutions, without any commitment to alignment with the West, began an era of new ways of receiving that technological assistance, thus, arising the call on multinational corporations as solutions to receiving technology.

These technological needs concentrate basically in areas where ideological and/or theoretically economic answers are not sought. The development of ideas is now in the hands of local nationals. What is basically needed is to import Western expertise in the strategic areas of oil



exploration, national defense, water works, agricultural technology, infra-structures and communication.

In response to this demand, in the Western world numbers of multi-national, large corporations and their knowledge and hardware are being channelled to serve what is needed in the Middle East. Their highly sophisticated technicians, trained in specific technical tasks, are beginning to replace the previous era's "experts" and "advisors" trained in international relations, economics, diplomacy and development theories. Each technician is trained to carry out a specific unit function within advanced, mostly electronic, projects.

Oil exploration and defense are two major areas through which this knowledge and its work force enter Egypt. The development of highly sophisticated communication networks brings this technological knowledge to awareness and application in Egypt. Oil exploration and defense are mentioned as two major fields where this technology is applied. Oil exploration is a significant economic consideration, mostly because Egypt until very recently did not produce the oil it needs. The existence of oil in all geographical neighboring areas increased the possibility that Egypt territorial land and waters may contain oil. International demand, interest, and profit in oil makes this technological importation all the more significant. Egypt, in addition to oil, needs significant military defense technology due to its geo-politically strategic location surrounded by

ideologically divergent nations. This need for defense, particularly with Israel's acquisition of advanced military technology and hardware, necessitates Egypt's equally advanced acquisition of the same, to maintain the balance of power.

Technical innovations are not only increasingly in demand in Egypt for importation for the development projects, but, also are incorporated into the company personnel's way of life in Egypt.

Multi-National Corporations in oil exploration, communication, defense and infra-structure developments are, first of all, linked to their other operations around the world, and to their headquarters. This link is highly sophisticated in terms of technology and communication networks involving transfer of the technology, work force and the exchange of information. Their mere presence in Egypt, is only one link in a chain of a complex network that never before existed in the international work force. Its emergence is current, and a result of not only the development in technology, but also the increase in availability of immense financial capital which, in many cases, far exceeds the GNP of many Third World Countries. Additionally, the development of major world crisis events, which are economically, or politically linked; such as the kidnapping case in Tehran, has changed the operational nature of international involvement in a given locale. The transfer of technology and personnel now facilitates more complex

coping mechanisms with such emergencies. How companies have established measures to deal with such events is but one aspect of the following discussion on the new trends in the changing nature of the Third Culture Communities.

U.S. National Technical Third  
Cultures: Overview

The current development of the Middle East and Egypt described above brings along with it a whole new population of Technical Third Cultures which exhibit a different set of international patterns, world outlook, educational background and philosophy and socio-cultural background. The following section will define and examine the characteristics of these newly emerging technical third cultures.

The following analysis will focus on the U.S. national third cultures. This is because the data available from interviews and observations concentrate on this group.

Carriers of technical third cultures enter overseas international living circumstances generally due to their sponsor's (company's) overseas project. They are transient residents overseas because their permanent residences remain in their country of origin. Generally, they will return to this residence upon completion of their specific duties with their company overseas. The duration may last from 18 months to 4 years, with an average of 3 years. The task generally involves specific technological input of the particular person in the company along with the machinery to be utilized or installed by that company.

Structurally, technical third culture members do not come overseas from different countries or places of work sporadically to carry out similar jobs, but, come from one specific company in many numbers for a broader project, each assigned to carry out a specific task within that Project. Technical third cultures are thus, company third cultures. In this respect they are more similar to armed forces bases.

Technical third culture members tend to accept overseas assignment for various reasons. The following list of reasons are provided, drawn from the responses to the interview question (What are your reasons for coming to Egypt?) with such members.

1. Most technical experts do not have material means to travel outside of their national residence and thus accept such assignment as once in a lifetime exposure to another culture.
2. Most such companies offer extra salary compensation as incentive for such assignment, thus, allowing the employee a potential saving.
3. Most employees who take such jobs are strongly encouraged by their company to take it due either to company personnel reorganization, or the employee's expertise in that task.
4. Material privileges and excellent educational opportunities are provided such that they cannot be utilized by that employee in the place of their

permanent residence. Household services, travel privileges, private education without any cost to family, etc.

5. Companies assurance that their life in overseas will be fully supported by all the privileges listed above and also protected with very sophisticated insurance and other security measures and also against any potential emergency situations involving health care, or other local political emergency evacuation.

Technical third cultures tend to come from a middle class background in their country with an average of high school or equivalent education. Generally their technical knowledge has developed through their task-oriented seniority and in-company training programs. Most technical temporary third culture members do not have any previous exposure or interaction with any other culture groups or nationals prior to their arrival in the host culture.

Due to newly developing trends in the internationally mobile work force present particular community and self identity characteristics in their student population at C.A.C., a separate analysis of their uniqueness will be made later in this section.

First, however, it should be pointed out that the following evaluations made on Technical Third Cultures are not drawn from focussed data within this research. The main objective of the study was to examine the identity

characteristics of T.C.K.'s so that the focus of interviews and observations was directed to it. Yet, during the study, which coincided with the upsurge of Technical Third Cultures into Egypt, Cairo, and C.A.C., a significant quantity of information on the identity of the youth of the Technical Third Cultures surfaced. Thus, the need for a separate presentation occurred.

Not all characteristics of newcomers as Technical Third Cultures are very dissimilar to the characteristics reflected in T.C.K.'s. But, the communities impact on the youth's identity and its dissimilar manifestations in that identity as opposed to the T.C.K., make it necessary for this study to examine them separately.

During the progress of this study a significantly large number of Technical Third Culture carriers entered Egypt, particularly the U.S. National Technical Communities. Their dependent youth began to register at C.A.C., beginning the academic year 1981-1982, with increasing numbers in each year. One U.S. defense contract company alone has registered over 100 students at C.A.C. during the course of the 1982-1983 academic year. This added impact in numbers, with its values, educational and social needs and expectations produced a great deal of change within the community and C.A.C.

A separate chapter on "The School" will closely examine the current impacts and changes in the educational structure and philosophy of the school. In this chapter, a

closer look at the most distinguishable community and self identity characteristics of the youth of the Technical Third Cultures will be made in order to isolate those elements of uniqueness.

Other national third cultures do enter Cairo, Egypt through their work-related contracts, along with the U.S. nationals. But, particularly in the cases of Eastern European and Far Eastern nationals, the company only brings in the workers to work in their projects. The dependents of those companies in most cases do not accompany their men. On the other hand, in cases where the dependents do enter Egypt, not all of their children attend C.A.C. There are other international schools in Cairo where large numbers of nationals other than U.S., enter. Those other nationals who are still admitted to C.A.C. still largely represent the dependent children of the more established modern third cultures from which the T.C.K. originates.

#### Community Characteristics of U.S. National Technical Third Cultures

The following analysis is largely based on the researcher's observations and indirectly gathered from the interviews conducted on T.C.K.s.

#### Continuity vs. Discontinuity

Almost all U.S. National Technical Third Culture Community members have never left their cultural residence

for travel and living purposes. According to one oil company executive, one of the major incentives given to them to move to Egypt is to provide them with the same living standard they were accustomed to in the U.S. oil and defense companies, particularly, are financially able to either acquire residences in Cairo which are partially completed and complete them up to their standards and/or furnish completed buildings equipped with all U.S. middle or upper middle class standards of convenience and comfort. Such furnishing are directly shipped from the U.S. and will return to the U.S. upon the Company's completion of its duties in Egypt.

With the above arrangement, the continuity of their U.S. based life style in Egypt represents a continuity with their life experiences in the United States, separating them physically from the living atmospheres of most of the other U.S. nationals (save U.S. embassy personnel), other international communities and the local community. It is this researcher's observation in entering such homes that one enters into "little America." This is a significant element of continuity for the daily experiences of the student and the family. This continuity results in a discontinuity with other U.S. national and international communities whose members either live in locally furnished flats or self-initiated furnished living quarters which do not represent the "privileged" conveniences and comfort. The result is the self-imposed mutual interactional



distance established among the respective communities.

Another related continuity element is that, by living in the same residential building, members of these communities share a great deal of daily involvement with each other. Most of these involvements represent a continuity with their daily involvements in their residence back in their country. When one enters the "Building Compound" the announcement board at the entrance summarizes these activities; exercise classes, hobby classes, trips, company morning coffee, charity meetings and the church activities, along with safety regulations and the latest announcements on survival tips.

Technical Third Cultures, in general are not, of course, brought to Cairo from culturally diverse backgrounds. Since they do represent the community of a particular company the members share a homogeneous socio-cultural and economic class, life style, values and education. Their cultural meaning, therefore, is confined to these shared symbols and backgrounds, yet, motivated and perpetuated by the very nature of their community abroad. U.S. national third culture communities in Cairo do represent this principle in that such continuities form a very significant element for their psychological needs.

When the chaplain of the community church was interviewed he expressed a great deal of concern that despite the church's and his personal efforts of integrating such community members into other international communities and

the local culture for promoting potentials for self growth technical third cultures are more effectively oriented into their separatist community values within one month through their interaction with those previously arrived, with the same status Nash, (1970) defines this to be the need for continuity in the face of discontinuity within which generally there exists "at home" related mental and emotional orientation. The Community Services Association (C.S.A.) has since 1981 attempted to offer cross-cultural courses for developing cross-cultural understanding. They offer enrichment courses into the heritage and current customs of Egypt. "Such courses were never popular with the members of the Technical Third Cultures" - (a counselor at C.S.A.). According to Nash (1970) this stems from the principle that the more dissimilar cultures are, the more distant they choose to remain from each other. On the other hand, courses offered at C.S.A. that corresponded to the "community member's self interests and continuing hobbies of some time were more popular and well attended" (C.S.A. Counselor).

Anxieties of Technical Third Culture members which are developed through such isolation from the local and other international communities result in stress, coping problems at best, hostility at worst, which further perpetuates their mental orientation to where their permanent home is and to the relations in Cairo where such anguish and stress is shared (C.A.C. Counselor, 11-12 grades).

More established long term third culture groups in general represent higher socio-economic and educational backgrounds. Such communities have developed more effective coping and anxiety management mechanisms through their multivariied international life experiences. This difference, in dealing with the temporary status of living outside of one's cultural reference point does create a conflict in communication among the two types of communities. Social interactions mutually, are confined to their own community, but, the established modern third culture members do share broader social interactions, including within it the other international communities and the professional counterpart members of the local community. Examples of social separations among the two types of communities are observable in social gatherings such as P.T.O. meetings where the discussion of the student-related concerns represents the polarized characteristics of their ingroup concerns. At such meetings technical third culture concerns concentrate more on the survival-related issues such as drinkability of the school water, and safety of the community street, whereas the concerns expressed by the more experienced community relate to broader issues such as the changing negative attitudes toward the local residents, or establishment of dress code for the students so as not to offend the local residents.

Other examples of separation surround the social activities of the respective communities. Bi-monthly News-

letters sent out by the community church publish such activities. The "Petroleum Wives Morning Coffee" is a perfect example of such separatist activities, of one group, versus the 'International Womens' Organizations this month presents "India," as another example of the dichotomy of the interactions.

Availability of an advanced communication network, through video systems, satellite telephones, etc. daily link lives to the origins of their national residence, so much so that video availability includes daily soap operas, recent sport activities on U.S. television. When the last episode of the famous U.S. television series, "M.A.S.H.," was played on television in the United States, it was in homes in Cairo 48 hours later. Video films brought through company transportation systems, may bring last weekend's baseball game, or current national news coverage within only hours of flying time.

Other communication networks, such as company inner-circuit radio communication systems (that tie all members to each other minute by minute), ensure control, dependency and security by the sponsor.

#### Attitudes Toward the Local Culture

Attitudes toward local culture, in terms of their generally negative nature, contain an influential element in shaping the identity characteristics of its youth.

The continuity characteristics mentioned above eliminate the more meaningful contacts with the local culture. The Chaplain of the Community Church expressed that the general attitudes of such groups toward the local culture are negative, anxious and, at worst, prejudiced. The Community Services Association staff added to this observation that most members of such communities, in fact, do not want to deal with their prejudices.

Contact with the local culture in general is made through maids, drivers, shopkeepers, and the repairmen. Such contacts naturally do not result in more encompassing images of Egyptians. Such service personnel do not necessarily represent the mainstream of their own culture. Relationships with them are dominated by stress, coping and anxiety due to reasons stemming from the problems of daily routines.

It is unrealistic to point out that the lack of meaningful interactions with the local residents only occur among technical third culture community members. It appears in this study the more established Modern Third Culture members have developed more relaxed attitudes including better acceptance and understanding of differences and learned to manage their prejudices. They also have more frequent interactions with their professional local counterparts.

Such attitudes of at best "disinterest" (C.S.A. Counselor) in the local culture reflect in one sense a need

to superimpose the U.S. way of life and values on the local culture in that one wife of an agricultural contract company person makes it her mission to change the traffic patterns of Maadi by distributing the "California Traffic Regulations Booklet" to the local police authorities, reflecting the need to change the order of things acceptable by the Egyptian society.

Intra-Company interactions of the Technical Third Cultures dominate most associations. These tend to serve several purposes: general health and security concerns encourage non conceptualization of the host culture. This further alienates technical experts and their families from the local culture. Most household provisions are flown in from the country of national origin, health care in an emergency is also provided in the national setting by an immediate evacuation system.

Companies employ either host or national service staff to handle household technical problems and needs. Transportation needs are provided by the company.

This described life style faces controversial opinion by other members of the community. Some criticize it, "they never grow in international experience" (a school teacher) or, "they isolate themselves totally from the local culture and perpetuate their prejudices" (a community leader), others envy the richness of their life styles, "oil companies have everything including the kitchen sink, I mean they bring the kitchen sink" (a parent).

The Nature of Family Relations  
In Technical Third Cultures

The following analysis will be largely made on the basis of the interviews of teachers and other school staff who expressed views on such parents on the basis of their observations of their children. Interviews, observations of the families themselves at school meetings, P.T.O. gatherings, and other social events are also incorporated, along with teacher interviews in the following findings.

Family educational backgrounds tend to be high school, or equivalent, with technical in-service development in work-related training. Socio-economically, as technicians who perform specific assembly line tasks, technical third culture communities represent middle, or lower middle class affiliations in their country. Social values, life style and educational aspirations for their children, correspond to that affiliation.

In terms of educational values for their children, counselors at C.A.C. expressed the following analysis. "They express that they have very high educational standards for their children but they don't follow up on this. They come to school when they register their kids and they never come again" (7 - 8th grade counselor). "Parental expressed concern for academic accomplishment does not follow through. When children face academic and social problems, there is never a convenient time to them

to come to school and interact on these problems" (9 - 10th grade counselor). "They are not concerned what happens to their kids they dump here (C.A.C.), as if the kids are only our responsibility, they have an attitude of, 'we pay for them, you educate them'" (11 - 12th grade counselor).

From the point of view of the teachers and the counselors there exists a "parental child abuse" (7 - 8th grade counselor) in that children with special education needs and a general public education background, do not benefit from the educational experiences of C.A.C. The school is not in a position not to accept them because, according to the admission policy of the school, all children who hold U.S. passports are admitted. The parents decision to come to Egypt, on the other hand, has not included children's specific educational needs.

The educational non-involvement of the Technical Third Culture families is in contrast to the very high standards of educational expectations of the Modern Third Culture families, who themselves are higher-educated, and expect at least the same higher education from their children. They also closely follow their children's educational endeavors.

Not only are the academic problems of their kids not dealt with by the T.T.C. families, but, neither are their behavioral problems.

"A Technical Third Culture family's temporary status here has interesting side effects; they feel their problems are also temporary so that when they leave their problems



will end, too," (C.S.A. counselor) so they ignore their problems. The community of T.T.C. is a tight and close one. Most families in this group do not want public knowledge of their private problems. The "image of being a strong American is very important" (a teacher). They are afraid to harm that image by public exposure of their problems.

Another characteristic of the Technical Third Culture families is their strong nationalism, which is tied to that "image" concern, and social class background. "American-ness means strength, and superiority in values and in behavior. But, this pride is exaggerated to the exclusion of other cultural understanding" (a community leader). "This prejudice is detrimental for their kids" (a teacher). A self-imposed isolation, and constant stress with the local environment, facilitate a stress-oriented home life. "Mothers have the hardest time, they suddenly find themselves in the middle of all the problems of being here" (C.S.A. counselor). Women find themselves with not much to do by the displacement of their roles at home by the maids. They are bored and displaced. "We try to keep them busy with community activities. It's hard for the women here" (a member of the Maadi Womens Guild).

Technical Third Culture families also bring along with them certain internal family problems that are totally outside of their living circumstance in Egypt. Multiple marriages with half siblings are not unusual among such

families. The family conflicts due to such multiplicities, are transferred along with them to Egypt, and in many cases projected to the local situation as though the problems are the reflections of their life in Egypt.

The above family characteristics are tightly linked to the characteristics most predominantly exhibited by their children. The following section will deal with this, and other links, as it evaluates the nature of identity in the Technical Third Culture children.

The Nature of Identity and the  
Technical Third Culture Kids

"I did not want to come here. I was packed, along with the household, like a suitcase. No one asked for my opinion. Dad made the decision to come."

(8th grade male U.S. National)

Cairo American College is an American international school with close to half its student population U.S. nationals. When the academic year begins, regardless of experience in overseas living or not, all U.S. nationals blend in, in a broad sense, as regard clothing, language, and physical characteristics. But, this is the misleading, surface appearance. Beyond this appearance exist characteristics unique to the children of the Technical Third Culture Community who are a very recent addition to the International Third Culture Community.

The suitcase phenomenon, quoted earlier, is a very important factor in technical third culture kids, "it creates a bitterness toward parents" (8th grade counselor). "Parents' attention in turn is tied with guilt" (study hall proctor). No one's asking their opinion to come creates resentment of the parents and the parents, in return, assuage their guilt by giving them any material privilege they ask for such as motorcycles, videos, and other electronic machines. Parents also "excuse their kids for misbehavior or tardiness at the school because they feel responsible for separating them from their friends and physical comforts back home" (study hall proctor).

This imposed separation and its resentment, make it most difficult for them to "adopt to the T.C.K. culture of the school or the local Egyptian environment. Like their parents they remain at the fringes of their peer relations. They never really adapt, they spend more time with kids like themselves who hate Egypt" (12th grade counselor).

The dichotomy of the situation is that T.T.C. kids were very much in the habit of having very strong and close peer relations at home. So, for them, the major adaptability concern is not to the local culture, but the peer culture of the school. They want to belong "but, they have to work it out themselves" (10th grade female U.S. national).

Career overseas kids, newcomer or not, will not adapt to the T.T.C. kids. The hardship for the T.T.C. kids is that they see themselves to be dressed and look the same,

so initially they do not see the more specific differences in their modes of behavior and attitude. They moan and groan all the time. They complain about everything. They have to learn to manage their fears and dislikes. T.C.K. culture does not accommodate. They themselves have grown in life experiences through many hardships, so that the newcomer is put in a test to live through it. Despite the strong need for peer approval and belonging, T.T.C. kids are not highly motivated to try to belong. "It takes them one whole academic year to adapt to the school culture and it is lost during home leave vacation" (12th grade counselor). "So they stay with people like themselves who reinforce each others prejudices" (the Chaplain of the Community Church).

This constricted reference group affiliation in turn promotes hostility directed toward both the school and the local environment.

"They have behavioral problems, they have not been able to internationalize their representational role" (a community member). They, in fact, reject that role, and insist on more independent behavior. "They don't really grow in overseas living experiences" (25 year veteran C.A.C. teacher). As this teacher reflected on the various historical trends of the school, she could not find a precedent, and kept comparing the new trends with the traditional T.C.K. groups.

It is observed by this researcher that the Technical Third Culture kids are much more environment-oriented, rather than inner-directed, the latter being more of a T.C.K. characteristic. When T.T.C. kids are interviewed, or observed, they spend a lot of time making some reference to the local situation, its discomforts, dirt or disorder. In analyzing their life circumstances, they make a great deal of reference to things or people surrounding them. T.C.K.'s tend to be more inner-directed in that they evaluate situations with their feelings, individual reactions and reflections. They seem to rise above situations, and find a more abstract way of dealing with the world. T.T.C. kids, on the other hand, seem to concentrate on the physical appearance of Cairo, how people on the streets stare at them, on what happened just the other day when they were shopping. They were actively aware and involved with their surroundings, whereas the T.C.K. seems to have risen above such considerations. Naturally prior experience, and familiarity with similar surroundings, do play an important ingredient here.

Parental attitudes, values and emotions, and private family problems, do play a great role in T.T.C. kids initial adaptations. These problems of adaptability extend into their physical health. The chief nurse of the school reported that "they get every disease the first year mostly intestinal and respiratory, but, whatever ... they get them all."

At the school, those who are lower achievers and needed a special education to begin with, have stress with the school.

In the classroom, "they are withdrawers, and are observers rather than participants" (a social science teacher). "This is the result of their more conservative, rather nationalistic, socio-political views. They have to learn to manage prejudice if not to eliminate it" (current middle eastern history teacher). This management of negative attitudes is partially accomplished toward the end of the first academic year, largely because of the need to be accepted by the peers. It may be that the management occurs at the end of the year, but not the elimination of it. This is defended by one counselor who observes that when they return from home at the end of the summer they come back "with the same prejudices as if they never have left."

One management of the prejudice is the differential understanding of poverty and economics. "Poverty of a country does not mean stupidity of its population" (reports a teacher). Comparative experiences of T.C.K.'s allow them the development of this differentiation that the people in a given country can be at an individual level very intelligent, but poor. Economic development and higher standards of life do not necessarily equate with higher intelligence. This hierarchical way of examining people is very

common among T.T.C.'s. Once again, the lack of experience of knowing differences in life styles among people, and not knowing people in local cultures on an individual basis, is an important consideration here.

To close the main point in the identity particulars of the Technical Third Culture kids, a report on an incident that occurred in a classroom while the research was conducted should be made here.

The setting is the current Middle Eastern history class of upper division. Students sit around a circular table. They are debating a particular political issue of the region from the standpoint of an ideological conflict of interests in the region. This particular classroom teacher has established a rule of no judgmentalism, and no one-sided arguments in discussion of issues. The students have to know the different political ideologies. The socio-cultural context is not separated from the discussion either. As the students debated, this researcher noticed that there were two male U.S. students who were generally quiet but nervous; tapping their pens, shaking their knees and periodically making a very one-sided, very extremist, comment in support of a particular ideology. When any comment was made in opposition to that point of view, these students took it very personally and equated their reactions as a defense of nationalism. When class period was over, one Vietnamese-American 11th grade girl student, who is a T.C.K., stayed back. When the class was empty, she

went over to the teacher, and asked, "Who are those guys? They must be new, are they new?" The answer was, "Yes." "I knew it, I knew it," she continued, "Well, they will change. They will learn."

The excitement of the confirmation of her intuition that the kids were new, and the realization that she, and others in the class, have come a long way to be accepting of the differences in ideologies as just that, differences, was a revelation in the emotions of that female student. Maybe the situation reminded her of someone in the past ... maybe herself.

This certainly was one of the highlights of this research.

What happens in the perceptions, cognition and emotions, that has an incredible potential for changes in values, attitudes and cultural norms that can lead the way to that classroom? Some twelve, 17-18 year olds can discuss the conflicts of a region more objectively, sensitively and respectfully than when the representatives of the nations sit and discuss the same.

### Third Culture Communities and Their Characteristics

#### Introduction

Following discussion will focus on the particular identity characteristics of the more traditional third culture communities and their youth.



The international "community" of "Maadi" and its characteristics will be discussed here as the integrative part of the identity of the internationally mobile, third culture youth. The geographic location which is called "Maadi" has been described previously as a suburb of Cairo surrounding Cairo American College. Originally established as an English settlement during English colonial domination in Egypt, the community has gradually changed its single national character and became multi-national during the last decades. Since the colonial period, new nationalities, particularly American, have come into Egypt and they, too, have settled in Maadi. Part of the attraction has been establishment of C.A.C. as an American School and a French system international school. The necessity for dependent children's education brought many different nationals, particularly those seeking these two systems of education for their children, to Maadi. Currently, several thousands of international families reside in Maadi, so much so that when one enters the community, one is aware of its social and cultural characteristics as being very international although geographically located in Cairo, Egypt. However, when one further breaks down this international appearance, American culture will surface high among others. This dominance stems mainly in terms of numbers. Maadi houses the single largest American community in Cairo. Beneath the surface of international cultural appearance, lie the greenest, quietest and in all

other general appearances, most uniquely beautiful part of Cairo. The original architecture of Maadi was exclusively single houses and large gardens and multi-flowering trees. Currently some of these beautiful country style houses are being preserved by concerned foreigners and local residents alike. Within this atmosphere of greenery and serenity, Maadi international community settles down for their temporary residence in Cairo.

To define the multi-national, multi-cultural nature of the social relational human grouping described in this research, the term "community" is selected over and above other descriptive terms used in similar context in other literature sources. Terms such as "enclaves" or "foreign" ghettos" are used both in related literature and among some international members of the community in Maadi.

Within the definitional purpose of this research, the term international community is selected because the international community refers to "any group formed of people who stem from disparate societies, who regularly interact through interpersonal contacts and communications networks, and who share mutual interests and a common ethos" (Useem 1963:482). The usage of "community" here implies interactional patterns, roles and their behavioral manifestations, which are not physically bound to a specific location.

Within the definitional frame defined above, the members of the international third culture community in

Maadi interact with each other, constitute a social structure, share a language, enjoy a life style premised on a distinct set of values. These values stem from their specific situation as a third culture community in that their standard of interpersonal relations, work related norms, codes of reciprocity, networks of communication and world views are based on their co-existence and coordination.

International community values, and patterns of interaction will be discussed presently to provide the reader with another picture of life that surrounds Cairo American College and its youth.

The foreign community in Maadi largely represents a community of strangers, but, at any given time, this community of strangers are closely tied and linked together due to the similarities in their role of being in Egypt. This is true of any of the national and/or cultural groups. This closeness and distance at the same time within the relationships are measured on the basis of integrative commonalities. They share a common work-related purpose, life style, and standards of interpersonal relationships. Their language and topics of conversations are representative of this commonality. This researcher's many observations at parties, shopping centers, community meetings and personal interactions indicate that the community topics center around survival tips, such as housing, food, recreation and health concerns. Further



concentration of conversations center around household servants, hidden consensus on attitudes towards Egyptians and their culture, latest news within the professional affiliation and concerns regarding the school and its affairs. The most outstanding characteristic of third culture community in Maadi is its constant preoccupation with stress-reducing elements of their daily life. Stress, emphasized by Coelho, Yuan and Ahmed (1980) and Kerckhoff (1955) as an integral part of uprooting, is most dramatically observed in Maadi.

#### Nationality Cliques

The international community of Maadi is not internationally comprehensive as far as sharing their life experiences. Its characteristics were expressed by one administrator of the school as follows: "There is not an international community in Maadi. There are Nationals and their work-related communities." This clinging to one's national and cultural group is an integrative, unifying attitude and life style among foreign communities observable in Maadi. Social and interactive units are nationality bound, so much so that the sense of belonging does not expand much beyond single culture bounds and egocentric values. Erikson (1959) defines this as identity sameness and continuity in that one individual's identity extends out to include others with the same identity. This theoretical characteristic is not the only reason why national

and/or cultural groups cling together in Maadi. There are other reasons stemming from their life experiences in a foreign setting. One main reason comes from encouragement of this life style by the person's or group's professional affiliation in Egypt. The behavioral expectations set by this professional affiliation discourages members from adventuring out into the mainstream of local culture. There are shared agreements as to the "do's" and "don't's" of overseas living which constitute the social contract between the management or administration and the members of the affiliations. This social control by the "company," is necessitated by the need for securing its position within Egypt so that no shame or harm is applied to that position. Individual behavior beyond the prescribed bounds of that expectation is limited so that dependency relationships among members is the resultant phenomenon. Most members of the international community do not explore and expand beyond their cultural bounds. The following are further reasons for the development of national and/or cultural cliques:

- 1) Cultural and language isolation from the local culture separates the foreign community from the local society.
- 2) The loss of familiar symbols and modes of interactions, which were left behind, force the groups who share these symbols in this community to come closer to each other.

- 3) Interactions with people and institutions of the local culture are restricted to provision of services by the lower classes or work-related professional interdependence through professional affiliation. In either case, these relationships are not culturally interactive but functional in scope.
- 4) Social support organizations within the community reinforce this unity for the functional purpose of their existence and operation.
- 5) Sharing common language, transiency, discontinuity, living conveniences through proximity to each other and the school further contribute to this phenomenon of what some observers in the community call "ghetto" formation.
- 6) Psychological, perceptual and cognitive displacement promotes further isolation and its resultant rejection of environmental and social variations and seeking similarities.

The above phenomenon of formation of national and/or cultural grouping manifests itself in all aspects of daily life in Maadi through even further segmentation, in that sub-groupings occur among professional and occupational affiliations. Most members of a given professional group share their daily experiences with each other. Common ethos and proximity of living quarters are the basic causes of this phenomenon. Particularly many private business

firms, defense contract and oil companies provide "company housing" where enclavement is its result.

Within the daily conversations, expressions such as "Building A," "Compound 1" and usage of company names for residential areas are very common and factual. Many of the "wealthier" companies even establish sophisticated ingroup communication networks as measures against potential emergency situations.

It is observable that the women in the community spend more of their daily experiences with their own nationals or company representatives than do men. Men's work-related involvements may involve more international interactions. Women, on the other hand, in most cases, do not work. Their daily "coping" centered life style, leads to their finding security through interactions with those who share similar identities.

#### Perception of the Host National Culture and Environment

The second most observable community characteristic is the perception which the foreigners have of the local physical and cultural environment. Kelly (1973) sees that the reason for this isolation through living separately from the local culture. This distorted perception of reality manifests itself through expressed prejudices, misunderstandings, and misconceptions toward the local environment and culture. The most severe cases of this



phenomenon occur among "newcomers" to the community. In fact, newcomers' roles and behaviors are expressed in inconsistencies and conflict. Most newcomers enter this foreign surrounding with the positive attitude of wanting to accept the new culture and learn it. But, the perception of the reality initially through sight, smell and sound is overpowering and frightening. This is of course, true mostly among "first time outers." Perception of reality for this group is within the confines and scope of their own culture and its value. A director of one of the community support organizations expressed in an interview that "the development of misconceptions, misjudgments and prejudice takes only a month, this is the initiation period during which the 'old-timers' initiate the newcomers into these conceptualizations." Within the foreign community, members learn new behavioral patterns as an extension of the existing personal cultural domain. This does not mean new culture learning patterns. Most literature findings use the term 'coping' in this connection. It is learning an effective and appropriate behavior from the standpoint of survival. There is a constant perpetuation of initial impressions rather than actual reality learning.

The above misperception of the local culture by the international community is not intentional, but arises through a lack of understanding of the behavioral context, meanings and symbols of the local culture. Judgments are culturally bound because one's own culture is one's only

reference point. One outward behavioral manifestation of this attitudinal pattern is constant preoccupation with sustaining the "perfectionism" imbedded in the life left behind "back home." There are constant retrospective reflections within certain segments of the international community about "good old home." There is certainly a psychological need for this in order to maintain continuity within life experiences.

The above characteristic is certainly not totally applicable to all nationals or cultural groups within the international community in Maadi. Its emphasis here is due to its broad manifestation cutting across varying segments of most foreign cultural and national groups. People adjust to overseas living at a national or individual basis. The following list of criteria of adjustability are offered, as they apply to the international community in Maadi:

- 1) At an individual level, differences in personality traits do play a significant role in degrees of adjustment. Rigid authoritarian personalities adjust with more difficulty than the more flexible adventurous, open-minded, secure personalities.
- 2) Nationality differences also make adjustments to Egyptian culture easier or harder. It is observed by this researcher that, the closer the cultural similarities to this local culture, the easier the adjustment. As the distance increases, so increases the psychological and behavioral separa-

tion. Several school teachers and community members expressed this in the following observations:

- The biggest problem of alienation occurs among the American community.
- Those from the more traditional cultures adjust easily and cope more effectively.
- European cultures are the most private group in that they restrict their interactions to others from within that continent.
- Third world national groups accept their circumstances more readily because the physical surroundings and their life style are not too different from what they are familiar with.
- The American community tends to avoid dealing with daily problems and thus, escapes them.
- Most national groups are provincial and conservative about interactive values and world views.
- Most national groups do not associate with local Egyptians.
- Only the American community concerns itself with its national "image." This is most strongly emphasized by the American Ambassador to Cairo, when he addressed the C.A.C. and its community in a speech covering the Middle East crisis. The Ambassador expressed in that speech that

C.A.C. and his job were similar because they are both projections of the American image abroad.

C.A.C., the Ambassador continued, is a part of broader relations between Egypt and the United States, because it reflects an American foreign policy and America itself.

### Community Support System and Involvement

Beyond the scope of daily involvement with coping with the environment, community members in Maadi do enjoy varying kinds of social outlets. Entertainment centers, such as activities at C.A.C., Maadi Sports Club, Cairo cultural centers, American University in Cairo and organized functions at major international chain hotels, do provide cultural or social entertainment opportunities. In addition to the above activities, most community members particularly women, spend many days in a week at various oriental bazaars and shopping districts, more for passing of time, than actual shopping. Three major community support organizations--which will be discussed shortly--do further provide more organized community involvement; though, it is expressed in interviews with their staff that more than ninety percent of their membership are American nationals.

### Life Style

High social and economic standards of living are

enjoyed by all members of the international community in Maadi. For most of the members, this level is not only higher than the average Egyptian life style, but also the average life style enjoyed in their home country. Specialized household servants, material privileges, travel opportunities inside and outside of Egypt, and higher social status within the Egyptian community along with comfortable and even luxurious living quarters, contribute to this privileged life style. In fact, it is partially within this life style that separation occurs from the local community. This observation was expressed by a staff member of one of the community organizations. In an interview, he observed that:

Economic distance is the main reason for separation. The gap is so wide that insecurity and discomfort with it on both sides widens the distance between the foreign and local communities. This privileged life style is justified by initial reasons of accepting a professional position in Egypt, working and living hardships and by the significance of international and professional contributions for the betterment of mankind.

The above-mentioned characteristics are the most dominant features of the life of the international community in Maadi.

#### Community Organizations

- 1) Community Services Association (CSA)
- 2) Maadi Women's Guild

## 3) Maadi Community Church

1) Community Service Association - CSA (established in 1981)

The CSA was established through the encouragement of the American Embassy in Cairo and concerned community members. It grew out of a need for an organized community outlet for the prevention and treatment of foreign community social problems. Directors of the Association expressed its purpose as "offering support services to meet the unique needs of the English speaking community in Cairo through education, counseling, social services and preventive mental health activities." The Association emphasizes:

- prevention and early intervention
- encouragement of involvement in mental health issues by the community
- broad mental health perspective

Basic core services are:

- crisis intervention
- short-term therapy

Extended services are:

- prevention and education activities
- outreach and consultation services
- adult education
- recreation for youth
- indirect mental health

CSA is organized by two full-time and five part-time staff members with an operating budget of U.S. \$96,000.

Funding: CSA is a non-profit organization funded through the following sources:

- program fees
- donations from business and community organizations, and the U.S. Department of State
- in-kind contributions from the U.S. Embassy and the business community
- contracts for special services with businesses and institutions

Services:

- counseling - (80% to Americans, 20% to Western Europeans). Helping community members in all areas, in dealing with a wide variety of problems and concerns. During the one-year period from September 1981 to August 1982, CSA served 333 clients and made 857 client contacts:
  - 50% of the clients were age 18 or under
  - two-thirds of the clients were female from different nationality groups, with Americans predominating (69%)
  - Major Problems Areas:
    - a) academic issues
    - b) family relations

For the youth:

- a) peer relations
- b) cultural adjustments
- c) drug use
- d) sexuality

For the adult:

- a) adjustment to living in Egypt
- b) parenting
- c) marital problems
- d) depression
- e) self-esteem

Programs for Youth - (CSA services in C.A.C. are incorporated within the high school counseling program).

- parenting overseas - programs for parents
- consultation with school administrative and teaching staff
- courses and workshops - for students at C.A.C.

C.A.C. programs include the following offerings during 1982-1983 school year:

- human relations class
- "feeling good about me"
- addiction seminar
- study skills
- leadership workshop
- newcomer orientation
- sexuality workshop



Adult Mental Health Prevention Services - This program was offered to 120 adults in the community.

- tension prevention
- personal effectiveness
- weight control
- couples communication workshop
- career strategies workshop
- time and life management

Newcomer Services - 100 community members participated in this program during 1982-1983.

- easing transition
- health tips
- practical issues of living in Egypt

Continuing Education Services - (50% to American nationals and 50% to other nationals). 1,390 community members participated in 120 classes during 1982-1983. These programs cover a wide range of Egyptian culture, mental health workshops, exercise, hobby and other practical information courses. Continuing education services seek to overcome boredom, isolation and stress.

The community characteristics expressed by the organizers of the Association are as follows:

- The community is isolated, therefore, the Association's role becomes one of providing activity opportunities to overcome abrasiveness and aggressiveness toward Egyptians.
- It is a fast growing community with few

opportunities available through community institutions.

2) Maadi Women's Guild (established in 1975)

- The purpose of the guild is to unite all women of the church and community in order to deepen the spiritual life of each of its members through a program of prayer, education and service.
- Maadi Women's Guild is an outreach of the Maadi community church--which will be discussed following the discussion of the guild.
- The guild is open to all women who desire to share Christian fellowship and activities.
- Funding - monthly collections, donations and various projects contribute to the funding of the guild. The guild operates with an annual budget of U.S. \$65,000,
- Organizational staff includes:

President

1st Vice President

2nd Vice President

3rd Vice President

Secretary

Treasurer

- Major activities:
  - Christian Bazaar - organized to raise money for local charities.
  - Benevolence - to raise money for contribution

to social and religious needy causes.

- Newcomers Coffee - organized monthly to orient the newcomers to the community.
- Cultural tours of the city and community.
- Interest publications are also organized by the guild.

### 3) Maadi Community Church

The Maadi community church is a fellowship within which Protestant Christian representation includes many denominational traditions and nationalities.

- The purpose is to provide opportunity for growth through:
  - worship
  - public and private prayer
  - Bible study
  - Christian education
  - service to others
- The church provides:
  - church services
  - church school
  - publication of bi-monthly community newsletter called "Maadi Messenger"
  - choirs
  - Bible studies
  - Mom and Tots
  - Women's Guild
  - men's prayer breakfast

- youth group - weekly meetings are held for C.A.C. 7-12 grade students on a voluntary basis.
- pot luck suppers
- Sunday morning coffee

The Chaplain of the church sees the church as a unifying force in that it pulls together the foreign community and provides support. He sees the role of the church as an extension of the family roles. The Chaplain expressed that the role of the church is strictly providing service to expatriates. The church building is mainly used by the English-speaking community, but, Korean, German and Arabic speaking community members also use the facilities. Church membership include 90-95% Americans with about 5% Europeans and Scandinavians and 3-4% Egyptian-Americans. The membership is about 600 people with weekly attendance of about 350 people.

Private counseling services are provided with a concentration on adjustment problems. Youth-oriented services emphasize crisis prevention. Within this function, the Chaplain sees his role as one of "availability" for anyone who needs to share a problem and seek advice.

The Chaplain of the church is not only the "shepherd of the flock" but also the "chaperone of the community." Within this role, he is part of a communication link with the U.S. Embassy Security Office, the office of the C.A.C. Superintendent, and the Community Services Association.

He further attempts to work closely with the local Egyptian police force so as to "fill in the bridge." It was expressed in an interview that the church does provide central values, that are acted upon--a great need in the heterogeneous community such as exists in Maadi.

In relation to the host national community, the Chaplain sees a wall which makes interaction difficult if not impossible between the foreign and local communities.

This wall is in terms of:

- material privileges of the foreigners
- salary differences between the two communities
- traveling of foreigners outside Egypt whenever any break occurs from the heavy work load
- language differences
- first months orientation of the newcomers by the oldtimers into isolation
- religious differences

#### Host National Community and Its Characteristics

Maadi contains not only foreigners. There are long-term local residents, professional people and a large segment of service personnel and shopkeepers who live there. As has been expressed many times above, the two communities do remain separate from each other. However, the Egyptian local community is accepting of, and receptive to the foreign community. This attitude was expressed by

one of the western-educated long-term members of the community as follows:

- 1) Egyptians do not mind foreigners; in the past, they have always admired the outsiders.
- 2) Egypt throughout its history always enjoyed a cross-cultural presence.
- 3) There is an economic gain by the local populace.

According to this resident, isolation from the point of view of local residents, is a function of social values. They observe "looser" social values in the foreigners, and therefore would rather not expose their children to these values. If Egyptian children do attempt to imitate the behavioral patterns and/or values of the foreign community, (mostly Western) then they face alienation by members of their culture. Thus, this fear of alienation, plus not being totally accepted by the foreign culture, causes their remaining in their culture clique.

The economic gain factor expressed above is further emphasized by the interviews with the local merchants. They see the expansion positively for their businesses. They proudly point out the expansion of their businesses and improvement of their family life styles.

A significant portion of the Cairo American College parent community is also represented by the Egyptians. These families constitute highly educated, materially well off Egyptians, who largely spent the last decade or two in Europe or the United States, living and working. At that

time, largely, they left Egypt for political reasons and returned to it when the late President Anwar Sadat's Open Door Policy made it easier for them to return. They carry a dichotomy, in that they are highly western in their life style and physical appearance and personal presence, yet, they are highly nationalistic and regionalistic in terms of their value systems. They want Western education for their children, but Egyptian social and traditional values. These values relate to male-female relations, social conduct, dress code and general modes of behavior. They distinctly get in conflict with the behavioral norms of the general student body at the school. The following Chapter dealing with the school's position in light of the current changes in its parent community will evaluate this point in more detail. Its significance here is in terms of its communal definition as part of that communal parent body.

The result is the following:

The international parent community of the Cairo American College exhibits a pluralistic polarized picture. This pluralism is largely along nationality lines, but in some cases, such as the T.T.C. communities, is along sponsorship lines. Such polarizations, and their total isolation from the local culture interfere with a potential of extension of both their personal and community self-meaning with the local environment and each other. Lack of internalization of adaptability beyond surface coping becomes harder. Yet attempts through psychological needs to create little

nations of their own also fail.

Homogeneity is the result of isolation and crystallization regardless of nationality. Yet, this homogeneity is also reflected in the across the board characteristics such communities display. They are approximately in age in middle adulthood, share similar responsibilities, and psychologically all are displaced, with some resolution of conflict with that displacement through previous experiences. All such community members take pride in their "nationalism." Another unifying characteristic is the prescribed behavioral role expectations.

Despite all that are shared there is no cohesiveness in this community concept. They are pluralistic groupings of nationals or sponsorships.

Individually, within these communities, some development of inner richness and strength due to diversities with which one has to live, does occur. At that individual level, personality types and structures play a great role in the developing or not of that richness. This cuts across nationality boundaries. Thus generalities across nationality lines may not be a fair analysis, but, the generalities are there nevertheless.

One generality is that they all seem to be "marginal observers" (Coelho, 1980) of their life's experiences. Homogenized national cultural norms with well established symbolic meanings and psychological continuity, do clash with disjointed external stimuli.



The conflict, confusions, insecurities and never-ending coping attempt to be eased by some community members who see their role as that. The chaplain of the community church conceptualizes his, and his church's role, as one of "a unifying force to pull together and support each other as a community." This unifying community is thought to be the Protestant Christian unity. Others find other unifying forces; charity, hobbies, interests, crisis resolutions, family problems. All these are dealt with or instituted by the various community organizations.

Generalities and diversities do exist together in defining the International Communities. One observer looks at it this way: "There are no International Communities here, there are nationals, and company relations." (The Secondary School Principal) A member of the P.T.O. expressed it another way, "I did not choose my neighborhood here. The values my children are exposed to are too many. I come from a neighborhood where the values are shared." Nationality, therefore, alone is not enough of a unifying force to cut across socio-economic class distinctions within it. No one has a choice of this diversified neighborhood values, so they clash. Values or norms of behavior, personal presentation, behavioral restrictions or freedom may exhibit various meanings. Such diversities are a problem for some parents, a chance for communication and growth for others, although in a minority. Some are concerned with their kids' isolation and separation from

the local cultures. Others forbid their kids to associate with host nationals.

Despite the diversities across many characteristics among communities, their relatively small size spreads any "news" of the community very fast among it. One community member referring to it called it "The Passage to India" phenomenon of problems of the tightness of the social communities, and their intrigues and gossip. Such potential, particularly for problems becoming public knowledge, draws closer in-group intimacy where, within such cliques, they are dealt with.

Interactional patterns at an individual level are situationally specific. Individualized experiences are projected to larger judgment about the local culture.

The international parent community of the Cairo American College is a community of a network of relationships, not of geographic and/or demographic homogeneity. This network of relationships is made up of the standards of representational behavior, world views, codes of reciprocity, styles of life and interpersonal relationship.

The discussion on the observable unique characteristics of the technical third culture members and their youth was made immediately following the summary analysis of the new trends in the internationally mobile work force. This was done to bridge the new trends and their resultant cultural impact. This in turn was followed by the analysis of the nature of the community of T.C.K.'s.

The following summary analysis will focus on the particular core identity characteristics of the third culture children at C.A.C. The final chapter will focus on the current position of the school in light of the various community and student identity norms as they interact within that school. The impact of that interaction in terms of its challenge to the philosophical foundations of the school will be discussed.

### T.C.K.'s and Their Identities

#### Introduction

To identify the particulars of the T.C.K. identity is to look at that culture in terms of its interpersonal relations and its resultant self. The examination of the identity, therefore, principally follows that comprehensive and inclusive nature of the self.

The socio-cultural norms that govern that identity at times appear to be in agreement, yet, at other times constitute a conflict in its interactional patterns. The conflicts, when occurring, grow out of the dynamism of the identity of the Third Culture kids. Within a cumulative life span, such dynamism will have the potential of growth and progressive change.

The identities which are presented here will therefore be inclusive of the community, parental, school and the peer norms as they shape the identity of T.C.K.'s.

Most characteristics which are identified do cut across sex, nationality and the sponsorship variations. The range of commonalities by far exceeded the differences presented by any of the above independent variables. This is quite significant in terms of the findings of this study, which present a potential support for the existence of a third culture. But, the differences are there for some of the characteristics.

In light of above dominance of commonalities the analysis of the findings will not be separated along any one of the independent variables, but their distinguishing impact, when it occurs, will be included in the analysis.

#### The Family and Its Norms

"We are very close, they (my parents, brothers and sisters) are the only continuity for me when we move so much."

11th grade female U.S. National

One major characteristic of the T.C.K. family is this element of continuity. Life for T.C.K.'s is filled with elements of constant change. Dynamic life style, elusive peer relations, lack of idols, and constant psychological and environmental discontinuities increase the importance of this element of continuity.

The nuclear family does not change in terms of its basic unit, norms and interpersonal relations. The main result of this continuity is the increased family closeness, togetherness, and sharing. "We share our pains in

each departure and excitement in each new discovery" (a T.C. mother). "We always discuss and decide together before I accept the location of my next post" (a T.C. father). Sydney Werkman, in his psychoanalytic studies of the T.C.K., found that "they do spend more time together as a family overseas" (Werkman, 1975). Useem and Downie (1976) report that 90% of T.C.K.'s that they studied had close attachments to their families. Gonzales (14) observes "the family as the center of activity."

The implication of this continuity, or sameness, for T.C.K.'s is, of course, the security of belonging. "When a pet is left behind and a friend leaves, a favorite toy gets lost in the shipment, I am the one to pick up the pieces of my child, and mend them together" (a T.C. veteran mother with 18 years of overseas living). The practicality of it is the stability for the child, and the reward of family unity and indispensability of their roles for the parents. This continuity, of course, is significant for the educators, in that a great deal of communication can be established in understanding of the children, and in dealing with their problems, if the family and the school can work constructively for the education and the development of their kids.

The Cairo American College parent teacher organization periodically organizes evening gatherings for the parents to come and share their needs, concerns, and values, concerning the children at C.A.C. Such meetings are valuable

for the school to understand the parent point of view on issues, and for the parents to present their norms. Such meetings at C.A.C., though generally not so well attended, (50 - 60 parents), do represent a cross section of the parent community in nationality and sponsorship.

In a series of meetings called "Your Child and You" the following observations on the summary of the discussions can be made.

- Most parents, regardless of nationality, expressed that they were a very close friend of their children. The daily affairs, fears and concerns, and daily conversations are shared and many are experienced together.
- Parents observed that they enjoyed watching the growth or evolution of values in their children. It should be pointed out in this connection that one continuity element in closer family relations of the T.C.K.'s is that T.C.K.'s generally share their parental values on norms of behavior, moral issues, religion, and educational considerations. The degree of the sharing of the values will be discussed later, but, it was clear in these meetings that on a continuum, there was not a very pronounced disagreement, but rather an agreement between the values of the parents and their children.
- Parents further agreed that they have learned a great deal from their children, in that the children

do encourage them to do things that they would not volunteer to do on their own. Culinary adventures, local environment exploration and communication in the local language, were given as examples.

- Traveling with their children, therefore experiencing new adventures together, was mentioned as another example of closeness and sharing.

Values concerning modes of behavior, moral issues, representational roles, and career aspirations are shared by the T.C.K. and their parents. Representational roles concerning public conduct of behavior as guests of Egypt are honored by and internalized by the T.C.K. Objections raised against it were exhibited by the Technical Third Culture kids. Naturally, for the T.C.K. this does represent another continuity element of knowing how to behave as little ambassadors from post to post. "It does not bother me, I got used to it, it is part of me now" (7th grade male third world national). "They are like little adults, so easy to talk to them, and they are so respectful and well behaved" (Study Hall proctor). This respectfulness and good behavior is also an extension of a high standard of behavioral expectations of the parents. "There are no discipline problems" (principal, secondary school). A reflection of this continuity between parents and children, concerning values is an asset for the school. C.A.C. does not have to deal with major behavioral problems, which is reflective of the examples drawn from other studies in

other locations.

But, at the same time, in relation to values some teachers find the parents conservative. "Parents are provincial, but they do not promote provincialism in their kids. I mean they are nationalistic but they never question my insistence on a balanced approach to understand and promote the ideological issues of the world. I guess they don't want their kids to be so provincial" (current history teacher).

The nature of the family relations exhibits a central role for the mother, with the father being pre-occupied with a very demanding work schedule. The fathers work hard and long, with long spans of time away from home. This lack of presence creates a vacuum which cannot be filled easily. "Sometimes I play that role" (chaplain of the community church). The father's professional role presents an occupational continuity and fulfillment for most of the cases, but the mother is responsible for the everyday living problems. "At times I feel guilty that I am happy with my work here, I know being here is hard on my wife" (a father); "My wife is in the middle of all that is happening to our lives" (adds a father); "Pressures on the women are great, coping and all the day-to-day affairs rely on her shoulders" (chaplain). Community support organizations do attempt to help with the stress for the women. "The activities we provide not only help our organization, but keep women occupied away from the pressures at home"



(President of the Maadi Womens Guild).

Mothers, in addition to coping, also have representational duties, and other social obligations. The above realities do present a conflict for otherwise close family ties. "Parents are too involved and busy so that they do not have time for the kids" (study hall proctor). This phenomenon does become a conflict for the school but a partial asset for the kids.

"The school becomes the center of interactions and belonging. Thus we have no problem of attendance or tardiness" (secondary principal). This is maybe the only benefit for the school. The teachers express a different concern. "They seek attention from the teachers that they do not get at home." "No one is at home to talk to," are typical comments made by many of the teachers. The teachers resent that they have to fulfill that role. "They (the children) hang around all the time just to talk to someone" (a teacher). School, of course, does represent a great deal of their daily involvement, academic or not. Lack of outside activities does contribute to this "hanging around."

One result of this situation of lack of attention is that many hours of the T.C.K.'s daily lives are spent by themselves. They have a lot of time for themselves, which contributes to their inner strength and individualism. But, one cannot cope alone, and this is when T.C.K.'s make visits to the nursing office. "They visit the nursing

office just to get attention" (the chief nurse). Minor cuts, minor pains, trivial health concerns, are sufficient reasons for these visits. The Drama teacher of the school expressed that this needs positive transformation. "They are attracted to Drama and Theater more than I have experienced while I taught in the U.S. They get attention through self expression" (the Drama teacher).

Students who were interviewed do not look at the situation from a problem point of view. They emphasize the family closeness and sharing. When they asked with whom do they share their innermost feelings, problems, and excitements, they mentioned first their siblings, and then their parents. Mothers stood out to be the key person with whom one shared a lot. "My mother is a very good friend. I talk to her" (8th grade female Third World National). The family closeness overseas does generally cut across national distinctions, but not without some differences.

European parents are most likely to share their children's affairs. A Dutch mother comments "I don't interfere with my child's daily affairs, but, in the evenings we get together to share our lives," "We are an individualistic family, but we like sharing our affairs. When we need help or assistance, we consult" (8th grade female Belgian student).

The teachers, in expressing concern over the demand put upon them by the attention-seeking students, do leave the European families outside of this. "Europeans are private.

They have a closer family unity. They deal with their problems there" (12th grade counselor).

Third World National family situations present another unique situation. The Third World National mothers, for the same reasons concerning fathers listed previously, become the center of their family unity, morality, and discipline. Traditional cultural roles of parents do not put the mother as the disciplinarian. "The Third World mothers have the hardest time in establishing discipline in the house" (12th grade counselor). But, this potential clash in role specifications does not present a great deal of problems for family unity, because the hierarchical order of the family relations demands a considerable respectful behavior. No student was reported to have behavioral problems in this sense.

Third World family traditional values as to male-female relations, modes of behavior, clothing or physical appearance do present problems for particularly the female students, who are under a great deal of pressure by peers to be "westernized" in these regards. "I am in this school to get an education. Then I will go back to Korea. I like my cultural values" (8th grade female Korean student). Such remarks and attitudes do represent an acceptance of traditional cultural values, for the time being at least.

Egyptian families, who constitute the second largest single nationality group after the United States, present peculiarities in family relations. They want an American

education for their children, but Egyptian cultural traditions. This is, of course, tied to the family situations of the Third World nationals. A larger discussion of the Egyptian and other family interactions with the school, in regards to the education of their children, will be made in the following chapter on the school.

Sponsorship differentiations only showed in the case of the religious missionary families, where the family ties and pressures on the conduct of their children's behavior were stronger than other groups.

Other consideration of findings, though, may not be so generally applicable as those discussed above. They still indicate an importance for the family relations of T.C.K.

- Political upheavals in the region affect the feeling of security of the community members. This adds to the daily stress environment.
- Re-entry of their kids into the mainstream of the American life is a great concern for the soon-returning families. These concerns include: unfamiliarity with the American daily way of life, money management, driving, and other cultural distances that developed over the years.
- Lack of homogeneous, unifying values in the international community in Maadi represent a problem for some families, who see a clash with their values on drinking, smoking, free time activities for their children, and the other families.

Such concerns were reflected in the P.T.O. meetings, where establishment of such value standards by the school was discussed. But, the school sees its role in this confined to the premises of the school.

- Particular the United States nationals do not like to see their kids depart from very strong nationalistic attitudes. But, including many of the American families, most families express an organized need to eliminate the cultural distance their kids have with the local social environment. These parents seek potential for a cross cultural understanding within the cultures of the school and the local culture.

A great deal of overlapping does exist, when the identities of the community, parents and the children are examined. Within the scope of this study, at times, it becomes very difficult to isolate one characteristic without its existence in another norm. This results periodically in unavoidable repetitions.

#### Identity Characteristics of the T.C.K.

As it is defined, the survival and the continuity of a culture is interpreted within individuals. (De Vos, 1976) This continuity, and the transmission through the selves of a culture, is the core of the following discussion.

Self cannot be conceived as a rising apart from social experience. (Strauss, 1956) This principle exemplifies

the frame within which the analysis of the self will be made. The community, the family, the school, and the nature of the lives of T.C.K.'s will all be incorporated, never, of course, underestimating the peer relations, which constitute a significant reference group for the T.C.K.

Ross (1962) points out that the ego identity is multi-dimensional. How one internalizes these dimensions, in terms of their relative strength and values, is partially handled at the individual level, but it is never outside of the reference group affiliations.

The complexity of the identity characteristics of the T.C.K. is largely the reflection of the diversity of the reference groups, and their norms. Diversities of life style and norms do not result in a structural chaos for the individuals, but a functional unity.

When one talks about the self, one has to talk about a given time and space. Self, therefore, in this sense, is seen as environmentally contextual. Yet, the time and space context takes on a different meaning for the T.C.K., than most culture definitions. Due to the mobile nature of their space and time, uprootedness becomes rootedness. The dynamism, change and the diversity of life style are the nature of the relational identity of the T.C.K. Within this diversity, and its resultant homogeneity, lies the cultural norms of the T.C.K., where the conflicts and consensus exist together.

Uprootedness of the T.C.K. is an essential part of his/her socialization. Tiryakiyan (1980) sees this an a growth potential.

"T.C.K.'s self is mainly rooted in his/her feelings" (high school social science teacher). "They deal with the world through their self-directed approach" (9-10 grade counselor). This self-directedness is expressed in terms of independence and inner directedness. "They are remarkably responsible" (study hall proctor). Students themselves who are interviewed express a self-directedness when they were asked on whom did they rely in their daily decisions, and also who was in charge in the general conduct of their lives. Most answered in responses such as "I make my own decisions but I consult with my family on important issues" (9th grade male European student). Parental role in decision making concerning the children involves larger issues such as the future educational plans, mores of conduct and measures of significant disciplinary issues. "To carry on their lives, they rely on their personal resources and intellect" (8th grade counselor). The 9th grade current history teacher puts it this way, "The students are left to be responsible for their behavior." The self-directedness is largely the result of the "independent life I had" (10th grade male U.S. national),

combined with the parents heavy social responsibilities, which leaves the kids on their own a great deal of the time. Nationality differences do occur in this regard. The T.C.K.s who are United States nationals, and European nationals do appear to make decisions concerning themselves more than the Third World Nationals. "They don't interfere in my daily activities and the decisions concerning them, but, we like to get together as a family in the evenings and share our daily lives" (8th grade female Dutch student). Matters such as dress code, daily activities, use of free time and academic study patterns are much more consulted with the parents in the case of the Third World Nationals. . . "so that I feel much more comfortable in discussing such matters with my parents, I listen to their ideas" (9th grade female Japanese Egyptian student).

Self confidence and the positive attitude toward self are, at times, higher than the parents. "Many parents are not comfortable with that. I think, what happens is that earlier on parents do encourage independence as necessary for coping with changes, but then, when they need to exert control, it becomes a problem" (8th grade counselor). This conflict, and its implications for the parents, are reflected in how the teachers relate to the students as well. "They have a very strong self. At times it is difficult to establish control. There is no nonsense about them. They know who they are" (high school French teacher, Egyptian national).



This self, in its independence, is further reflected in environmental mastery under the constant dynamic changes of that environment (Klineberg, 1966). A 10th grade female U.S. national, in asking how she reacted to the clothing restrictions put upon them by the school in view of the local traditional values, summed up this mastery of environment: "We just came from Colombia, where we lived for three years. I dressed there as I dress in the United States. Then my father got this job and discussed it with the whole family. We all agreed to come to Egypt, even though I had a chance to stay in the U.S. with my grandmother. My father is happy with his work and, we like Egypt very much. If I have to pull my hair back, and wear a bit conservative clothes I see nothing wrong with it. It is their country and I am a guest here." This represents an excellent example of T.C.K. students who were interviewed. Above all, they recognize their representational roles, and learn to deal with the environment, firstly within that role. They also master much more positive coping mechanisms. They notice differences but do not make evaluative comparisons of the present environment with another location. They take each place as it is. This is, of course, a contrast to T.T.C. kids, whose coping with the local environment was harder, because of constant negative comparisons to home. "I don't compare. I take each place as it is. I learn a few things about survival, and I go on, make new friends, learn a new country" (8th grade male

Middle Eastern student).

Environmental demands necessitate coming to terms with them. T.C.K.'s seem to balance some potentially disliked circumstances with something which is very dear to them, and thus, see no problem in managing the undesirable. They do not dwell on the physical setting, as much as on the interpersonal relations, activities, and academics. When they were asked how they felt about the dirt, noise or crowdedness of Cairo, most stop to think and answered; "It doesn't bother me. Of course, I miss the green and quietness, but I have my good friends, and I love the school" (7th grade male Swedish student). T.C.K.'s have a realistic perception of their environment, which this researcher believes corresponds to that realistic self. "The dirt doesn't bother me; have you lived in New York City?. Only difference is that they bag their garbage there" (9th grade male U.S. national). "I don't mind dressing like this - pointing to her skirt and her shirt - it makes me look more feminine" (a 12 grade female U.S. national) commenting after the banning of the shorts worn by female students of the school.

This correct perception of the environment is supported by the attempts to "decomplexify" (Coelho, 1980) the circumstances in which one lives. More positive adaptability is the result of a wide range of gathered information through experiences which are segmented. Self-preservation in a world of change and diversity demands this need for

simplifying the matter, by finding something positive and fulfilling.

Diverse environmental information seems to be analyzed and compartmentalized within the cognitive system, and the solutions about them are valued against one's participation in an interpersonal support system. T.C.K.'s, in responding to the conditions of the current environment, relate previous experiences with it, in terms of similarities, rather than hierarchical differences. "I lived in Jakarta before here, my life there was not much different than here" (7th grade female Greek student). "Everyone is the same. You just learn to survive. I do just fine" (7th grade male E.S.L. Korean student).

Segmented and divergent interpersonal relations and life style, are an example of Enlargement of Self (Gonzales, 1967). In defining the modern identity; Berger (1974), identifies three main characteristics. Openness is one of these characteristics. Openness involves lack of rigidity toward environmental inputs. Useem and Downie (1976), observe this in the T.C.K.'s in that "they become part and separate from the situations." T.C.K.'s in Cairo are very much a part of their lives in it, where they incorporate into their selves the cultural diversities, behavioral expectations and life style. They are comfortable with such diversities; "they are open to cultural differentiations" (high school current history teacher). "There is a potential ability to deal with

people. Environmental and intellectual exploration is easy" (high school activities conductor).

The second characteristic pointed out by Berger, is the differentiatedness, which is, of course, complementary to the openness. Change and dynamism of life style result in a segmented self. The T.C.K. is a little ambassador in one setting, expressing it in "I don't mind, it is part of me, cross-culturally being in one and another, I feel I belong to the world." yet, they are nationalistic, firmly but not frenetically: "I am an Israeli, and I wouldn't want to be anything else but, it doesn't make me better than anyone else." Mischel (1969) point out that the personality dispositions that are not cognitive, are subject to change. Personality, according to Mischel, seems to respond to stimulus differentiation with the same diversification without any unified response patterns. This represents a conflict for the parents and the academicians of T.C.K.'s. Parents of T.C.K.'s, who are relatively much more conservative in their values and provincialism, want their kids to be more nationalistic than their kids are. The T.C.K.'s openness and differentiatedness are, at times, considered immaturity, in not having the coherent values established. It is considered a developmental stage, not a development itself. "I am very concerned with the national identity of my son. He is forgetting to be an American. When we go home in the summers he does not fit in. I think the school should have some programs about this" (a U.S. national

parent). Adds another concerned parent, "After years of living here and there he has become everybody but nobody. He fits in everywhere, but nowhere in particular" (third world national mother with 12 years of overseas experience).

The resolution of this conflict lies in the future, when the cumulative lives of the T.C.K.'s can be observed in their adulthood.

In these differentiations, presently, T.C.K.'s learn to be "little adults" (Useem, 1973), exhibit a great deal of surface conformity (Goldberg, 1980). Dependency status, and other elements of diversitification of the self do also incorporate an extended mankind into that self. Miller (1974) expresses this as sharing of humanitarian values, and Useem (1967), sees it as belonging to the family of mankind. A high school teacher at C.A.C. sees T.C.K.'s as the linear thinkers. "They see themselves as part of humanity, as one of both the sameness and differences, but never better or worse."

The conflict here does emerge between the T.T.C. kids, and the T.C.K., where the T.T.C. kids strongly hang on to their nationalism as part of their strong affiliation, "whereas the T.C.K. is comfortable with the difference and sophisticated enough to be at ease with it" (coordinator of the Model United Nations Program). "They are very much politically involved and see the different political systems as just that . . . different systems" (high school

current middle eastern teacher). The two international programs of the C.A.C. should be mentioned here as examples of their strength in understanding socio-political differences.

The Model United Nations, (M.U.N.), involves the selection of about 20 high school students who participate in the Hague-Netherlands in the role play United Nations participated in by 90 international schools with 1000 students. Each year, each international school represents one or two nations of the U.N., and prepare themselves to be able to attend all international issues from the position of the nation in the General Assembly, or the Security Council. In 1983, C.A.C. represented Russia in the Hague and received a high honors medal among 90 schools for a task well done.

Close-Up, as another program of C.A.C., is a trip to the U.S. to examine U.S. government structures and functions in Washington, D.C. It is attended by selected high school U.S. history students. When the Director of the program, who is also the U.S. history teacher at the high school, pointed out that, when the student representatives from other international schools, and the U.S. schools, staged a mock government function, C.A.C. students surprised all present for their maturity, independent analysis and sophistication, so much so that organizers did not believe that the students of C.A.C. prepared their own speeches without any adult assistance.

The strong individualized self unifies all the diversities within it. At times this challenges both the parent's and the teacher's need of exertion of expectations and dependency. "I find them exhausting, they are knowledgeable in everything" (an English teacher).

The T.C.K. is not threatened by being both an insider and an outsider, too. In many of their roles there is a sense of acceptance and maturity" (chaplain of the community church). "There is a great deal of time to be reflective. There is not much to do you know." When asked how they relate to all those roles, one student answered it in such a way that it represented the others. "I lie down on my bed and stare at the ceiling, and just think or I get together with my friends and we just talk." This reflects a comfort with it, together with a sense of insightfulness.

This reflectiveness of the inner self finds ways to sort through conflicting external inputs. When students were asked how they relate to such cultural variations in the school, one answered, in a representational manner, "The cultural variations in my school is worth the immense effort of trying to understand. You become a better person, adjusting to different people and friends. It involves a re-creation of a new belonging, what you stand for, and who you are, has to be presented" (10th grade male U.S. national 1st year in the overseas experience).

This re-examining of established values, and dependency, are considered a discontinuity for some parents, but,

"are genuine part of personality and self, thus, not a factor of some psychological problems" (Berger 1975). The segmentation and discontinuity in the self has one unification element with respect to nationality. "T.C.K.'s see themselves as Western, whether they are Western or not" (high school history and psychology teacher). This observation is certainly the impression one receives in observing the C.A.C. students, in terms of their clothing, modes of behavior, choice of activities, and the daily life style. "Only the extreme cultures to the western culture, such as some of the Arabs and the Far Easterners, do not blend. The rest blend," adds the same teacher. This westernization element in the T.C.K.'s personality structure is most interesting. There is a need for homogeneity in the face of heterogeneity. It is a form of need for continuity and an establishment of some norms. Referring to the clothing, language and behavior, a community member, who does not have a child in the school, expressed this in the following observation, "They are more similar than different."

Technology of communication across the globe brings peoples together in more than one way. Identification with styles of clothing, choice of music, tastes in entertainment, all are centered in the Western world, and spread to the rest. This is one factor for such identification at C.A.C. But, there is another one, which is most immediate, that is that the dominant culture of the school is American. The third world nationals, when interviewed on this



dominance, responded with acceptance. "I don't mind that the American culture is dominant, it is their school" (9th grade female Yugoslavian). She blended into that American culture. But the one who did not, answered it differently "It is their school. They should behave the way they want to" (10th grade male Saudi Arabian student). How the U.S. nationals responded to the extremes who did not blend, but at the same time defend the dominant culture, is exemplified by one who expressed it well. "I like that the American culture is the dominant one, but, I don't think it is right for them - referring to the ones who choose not to conform - to come to school with black dress shoes, dress shirt and pants. It looks weird. I prefer to dress western. I love western boots" (10th grade female U.S. national).

Adaptation for the newcomers, is first to the American culture of the school, and then to the local environment. U.S. national newcomers, adopt the clothing and language norms of the school first. T.T.C. kids do have the greatest problems in their modes of behavior in terms of their adaptability to the Third Culture of the school. "They have to learn to hide their emotions, adopt T.C.K. modes of behavior, values and accept culture variations. Rise above environmental topics to not be unhappy and complaining" (8th grade counselor who is a T.C.K. by birth).

For the Third World nationals adapting to the dominant

American culture of their peers may be more difficult but making new friends initially among their nationals is easier. The Third World nationals make better adaptation to the local culture of Egypt largely because of the shared familiarities among such cultures.

The newcomer T.C.K.'s are highly motivated and willing to adapt to the school-peer culture which accounts for their fast adaptation. The familiarity and sharing of that peer culture of course is a factor here.

European students do adapt to the peer culture in terms of their clothing and physical presence, but, they tend to stay private in their national or regional associations.

The following section will focus on the Concept of Home for the T.C.K., which is a very significant and integral part of their identity.

### Concept of Home

"I am confused as to what home is.  
There I am out of place but, back here,  
I am out of place, too. I want to go  
home but when I am there I want to come  
back here."

(9th grade female Dutch student)

This approach to home is what some call "the meta-physical loss of home" (Berger 1974). T.C.K.'s life experiences expand the sense of belonging and attachment. Responding to an interview question, as to what they considered home to be, one 8th grade U.S. national reflects,

"Your guess is as good as mine, I don't know. I never really feel at home anywhere."

The importance of home lies in the sociological need for roots. Most culture definitions do make reference to this need for roots. Its significance has been evaluated in Chapter II. The concept of home for the T.C.K. is mostly drawn out of their migratory life style.

Resulting from the principle that the identity and the culture of the T.C.K. is dynamic, brings us to the view that "T.C.K.'s do not belong anywhere." (Auerbach 1971).

A sense of belonging and continuity in roots, for the T.C.K., is also dynamic, and subject to change. It is carried along in memories and memorabilia. Disjointed mental images of the experiences are very real. The perception of these images is interpreted at a personal level, a particular event that was never forgotten, a face that haunts. Yet, this interpretation of life's attachments constitutes an element of continuity throughout. Bits and pieces of their life here and there all fit together as a jigsaw puzzle. They remember specific cases of their past, but those are not so fixed and established that they are not able to incorporate new variations. Referring to her kids, who had 12 years of a migratory life, a mother reflects, "They talk about particular incidents, places and people. Just the pieces here and there" (mother, U.S. national). "They describe in detail a place they left behind, or a toy they missed" (add, a European diplomat).

When this researcher visited homes, and went into the student rooms, she found walls and shelves of these past lives. The posters of the last place lived, objects collected here and there, gifts presented in previous departures, a list of signed names of past friends, are very typical. When the students were asked what did they miss most, that they have left behind, they dig up an event, a person or an object and talk about it: "Let me tell you what happened when I lived in Sri Lanka. We had this big stonehouse and at night iguanas used to come to sleep on our roof, I miss their thumping sound" (8th grade male U.S. national). In interviews, each place, event or an association had a unique meaning, and something in them stood out. "Home is where my grandmother is in Korea. I really had a hard time leaving her behind" (7th grade female Korean student).

Differentiations along nationality lines did appear in answers to the question: What is home? The Third World nationals were the only nationality group who had emphasized extended family relations in their home towns as the "home" that they can relate to. "Home is my father's sister who lives in New Delhi" (11th grade female Indian student). Traditional culture values relating to the family ties are considered as influencing such differentiation.

In general, a particular symbolic meaning surfaces as a concept of home, but are short-lived in the sense that they do not dwell on them. "Each time we move, I have to live

through the height of anguish and anger in my children. But, each time both they and I know it will shortly be history after we go to the new place" (a mother Third World national). There is a tendency to a "now" and "here" orientation to life's circumstances. "I can't be sad about my life because I always miss something . . . that would not be fair." This statement expresses that through a cognitive balancing mechanism, that among the bits and pieces of life's experiences a unified T.C.K. emerges. This is also an example of their current experiential focus in life. Nash (1970) talks about "not belonging anywhere but belonging everywhere."

Home, for the T.C.K., largely represents current experiences and interpersonal relations, such as peers and the family. It was most commonly expressed by the students who were interviewed that the parents and siblings, followed by the peers, were the "home" they felt closest to. "Home is where my family is" or "home is where I am now" or "home is my mother," were examples of that feeling.

The extension of what home meant to the T.C.K. was the inquiry as to their attitudes concerning their periodic return to the national residence. "Home is a friend in my country but, when I saw her last, we were drifting. She feels I am too intellectual and concerned for the world" (8th grade male European student). "I can't feel at home. I am physically near to them, but I can't be close to people who have never had overseas experience" (9th grade

female U.S. national).

Sociological definitions of home assume a shared experience and symbolic meanings. Psychological ties to the physical setting and/or the interpersonal relations there do not necessarily result in a shared symbolic meaning. When T.C.K.'s go home, they leave their shared experiences behind where they are currently residing. Family ties at home do not include shared life experiences. So, when they return, T.C.K.'s express their home visit in this way, "When they talk about the Middle East, they don't know what they are talking about. They ask about Egypt, but don't want to listen to what you have to say." Discontinuities such as this mostly were representative of the U.S. nationals, where the life and experience at home are sharply different from the life style they experience overseas, particularly in socio-cultural norms, and meanings. Continuities are imbedded in current residence where, they do share meanings. "They find their nationals provincial, they look very American, but going back to the United States they are not stimulated" (high school social science teacher). This attachment yet detachment to both the "home" and to the current lives in migration is one of the core characteristics of the T.C.K. in terms of their concept of home.

The lack of total belonging that occurs, in particular to the home environment is most dramatically observable in the U.S. nationals. "They have the hardest time there,

because, it is so different from what they experience here in Egypt" (9 - 10 grade counselor). "What is so difficult to adjust to, is that I never see the poor in the United States" (a U.S. national student).

One important concept of home for the T.C.K. is the peer relations. "My friends are home to me, I am most comfortable when I am with them, we share a lot." This point of view brings in the next major evaluation which is the peer relations.

It should be pointed out that the values and norms that bind the peer relations are not markedly different than the norms and values that bind the community and the parents of T.C.K.'s.

### Peer Relations

The major portion of the identity of T.C.K.'s emerges within the patterns and norms of their peer relations.

The extensions of communality and sharing, in terms of language, experiences, values and attitudes, bring T.C.K.'s closer to one another. "When we went back to the U.S. after years of overseas, my son, who is in college now, found one person in his college of 45,000 students who had lived for many years overseas as well. He is his best friend now" (reports a mother).

But, these shared meanings do not escape the transiency in their lives, which result in the establishment of more extensive peer relations, rather than intensive ones. Such

transiency, combined with individualism and inner directedness, contribute to such attitudes.

T.C.K.s in general do not develop very intimate, emotionally strong, particular friendship with a few, but, are inclined to extend their peer attachments, to be inclusive of many. "I don't develop close attachments. It is hard to leave them" or "I don't develop very personal friendships. I have them to get along" and, finally "I don't have a best friend. They are all my friends." are examples of the responses to the question of how they viewed their friendships.

Such extended friendship patterns do not eliminate entirely the more intimate friendships, however. In terms of nationality differences, among the Third World Nationals cultural bonds do facilitate closer friendships within such bonds. "I like close friendships. I take chances in losing them", is an example of one such attitude. Technical Third Culture kids, who were described previously, constitute a differentiation along the sponsorship lines, in that their previous intimate friendship patterns do spill over to their similar patterns at C.A.C. Here they tend to stay within their sponsorship group.

One typical T.C.K. response to the attitudes in losing friends is the following, "I am not afraid of losing them. I might see them in my next post." Generally, transiency in the life style is reflected in the transiency of their friendships. At the end of the academic year one can



easily observe the anxieties and pain of separations. Because the transiency is not as tangible as it is expressed, conflicts do occur, where the friendships become deeper than intended. This is also true because of the sharing in their Third Culture friendship patterns, as well as the community, life style and the family. The socialness of the T.C.K.'s life is the sum total of their experiences, which include peers. The attitude of "I have them not to be bored in my spare time" (11th grade female U.S. national), however is an example of what one teacher calls "a self preservation, it is a coping mechanism whereby they protect themselves against constant change." On the other hand, those who conducted similar studies found that "because, they separate themselves from everything else, they rely on each other." (Kelly, 1973) T.C.K.'s do share common past and current experiences, and there exists a cognitive significant familiarity and sharing. This is definitely observable at C.A.C. As they were in the school grounds, at gatherings, and in casual street corner chats, they talk about a recent vacation, they talk about what countries they are going to or where they have been, skiing in Switzerland in winter, or swimming in the Greek islands in the spring, are shared. Newcomers always talk about where they have been before and what its like there. One can always find a t-shirt on a newcomer indicating the previous post.

There is constant commonality in sharing regional political affairs and discussions on current world affairs. Changes in one's country's affairs bring them together in sharing that which occurred. T.C.K.'s share their taste in foods of the world, sights of a country visited, comparisons of best airlines, best hotels and restaurants. They share their coping and adaptations. These are not found in interviews but in daily observations of their lives. Ross (1962), sees this as perception of one's self in relation to his/her reference group.

In the above-described theoretical frame, in commonality, T.C.K.'s at C.A.C. are inward turned, and protective of their group, against outsiders. Generally, the outsider constitutes the newcomer. T.C.K.'s do not make any compromise to adapt to the newcomer. The newcomer, regardless of the member of the Modern Third Culture or the T.T.C., is initially the outsider to the T.C.K. culture at C.A.C. "They have to learn to be one of us before I can associate with them. They complain a lot and they don't like being here. I wait until they calm down" (11th grade female U.S. national). T.T.C. kids adaptation and problems of coping have been discussed in the section dealing with their identities. T.C.K. newcomers do adapt fast because of commonality in long term experiences. Their immediate problems of adapting to the local culture, and the culture of the school is resolved in "3 months" (12th grade counselor).

The dominant Western, in general American, culture of

the school does put pressures on the kids. "The Americans try to outdo themselves to be American" (12th grade counselor). This is, of course much more common among Technical Third culture kids and the newcomer Modern Third Culture kids who just recently entered the international life.

Cross-cultural peer relations do, of course, affect culture bound cognitive structures, and the differentiations begin to occur in mutual acceptance and understanding. But, this presents a problem for the parents, who promote nationalism in their children. Interviews with the students indicate that being a member of one country was factual, but not any avenue for hierarchical comparisons such as the one being better than another. "I am happy to be a Greek, but this does not make me superior to anyone else, I could have been someone else." "They, of course, share much more than the national ties which they have, separate from the peer ties" (superintendent). Through this cross-cultural exposure national loyalties and values become rather complex and diversified. Despite the dominance of the Western U.S. culture among the peers, "Nationality background is not a status; academic acceleration, participatory and competitive school activities are" (12 grade counselor).

Peer acceptance is very important despite its intangible nature, and, the greatest pressure is among the U.S. nationals. "Europeans are private and the Third World

Nationals are concerned with the academic pressures." (9th - 10th grade counselor) The U.S. nationals greatest concentration of time is spent in opposite sex friendships but the peer group affiliation is very important.

There are certain divergences, given the concentration of values and backgrounds, but it is even greater that they share significant commonalities in life styles, worldminded values, cross-cultural acceptance, and comfort in it. The divergences most commonly occur among those who are the furthest from the U.S. culture assimilation. Janis (1968) refers to selective self exposure to external inputs, in that one is part of and apart from any given situation.

There is cognitive differentiation among cultures, and if the symbolic meanings are closer, the closer the carriers of these remain to each other in terms of adaptation and understanding. There are relatively close relations, in that among the cultures of T.C.K., of the school which are closer to the U.S. adapt and affiliate to the local culture better. Rejection in the school culture occurs until conformity to it occurs, which is "3 months for the newcomer T.C.K., minimum 1 year for T.T.C. except when they go home in the summer they lose all that" (12th grade counselor).

Aside from cultural variations, competency in English, dress code, not so strong personality traits, degree of complaints, and coping, are also criteria used in judging right for acceptance.

Activities and academic excellence also become important.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE SCHOOL

#### Identities and their Educational Implication

A presentation of the school in terms of its history, categorical structure, and general functioning bodies was presented in Chapter IV.

In this chapter, analysis of the school's current status, in view of changes in its external and internal nature, will be analyzed. Through this analysis it is hoped to present the new dimensions and impact on the current status of the T.C.K. identity.

C.A.C. and its parent community interact in an atmosphere of varying dimensions of cultural norms specific to the cultural segmentations of its community.

The educational, social and philosophical processes in the school relate to, and reflect the conflicts that exist among its parent communities' norms in education, the school's social structure, and its position in the community.

C.A.C. is the playground of this interplay among communities, social, cultural national formations, and behavior. But, because such cultures are the abstract norms, their representations in the form of personalities

carry out such conflicting interaction. From the beginning until the conclusion of this study there has actually not been a consensus reached concerning the present status and future direction of C.A.C. But, it is in this lack of consensus, and therefore conflict, that one can clearly observe the dynamism imbedded in the international third cultures and the identities of its youth, along with the very nature of their schools.

The "problem" - if one must call it that - or maybe the growth pains of C.A.C. originate initially within the different perceptions of its definition by the various parent communities. First, therefore, it is essential to define these positions of difference that represent the camps within that community. In general classification there are three positions, or camps, within the parent community of C.A.C: modern third cultures, technical third cultures and host national community.

### Modern Third Culture

Historically dominant cultural norms represented by multinational, established overseas carriers. Community members are Europeans, third world, and U.S. nationals, who have chosen to reside in different countries due to their professional international involvement. They are, generally, a college educated group with very high educational aspirations for their children who they hope will definitely pursue college education or beyond. This group defines

the school as "college preparatory, with a high standard academic curriculum with emphasis on cross-cultural understanding, language proficiency." (an internationally-involved executive with 18 years of international living experience) Given these norms of education, such members of the community very strongly wish to see C.A.C. continue its established educational practices along these norms, with an increasingly strong opinion of possible introduction of the international baccalaureate into its curriculum.

With these dominant norms for education for their children, the Modern Third Culture community can be divided into several categories in terms of the degree of their involvement in actively expressing their views within the realm of the current forces aimed at redirecting the future of C.A.C. European Third Culture community members and the Third World Country representatives generally do not get involved with either the day-to-day operations of the school, or long term directions. It has been expressed by the administration and the teaching staff of the school that "many such parents want an American Education for their children to use it as a stepping stone to secure an American higher education for them" (the secondary principal). It is further observed by this researcher that the representation by such parents in P.T.O. or other school-related gatherings or meetings concerning current or future operations of the school is very sparse, which



supports the observations made by the school staff. Another reason for their lack of direct involvement with the school is that traditionally they do not come from cultures where the parents get involved with schools. "The affairs of the school are the affairs of the state" reported one Korean mother who has two children in the school. The students of Modern Third Cultures are generally members of the identity of T.C.K. with high education aspirations for themselves and perform accordingly.

U.S. national parents of this group are generally involved with the affairs of C.A.C. with varying degrees of active involvement. Several members of the group are the members of the board of directors of the school. Others are active P.T.O. members and participate in all school-related meetings and gatherings where they express very definite opinions.

Naturally, as it exists in all communities, sporadically there exist parents who do participate in the affairs of the school, even though they represent a subgroup who in general do not. More active involvement of Modern Third Culture representatives is also due to increased diversity of influences where they feel strongly in expressing their points of view on education.

Technical Third Cultures - represent a second group of the parent community of C.A.C. whose characteristics were reviewed previously. This group, which is dominantly U.S. nationals, wishes to see the broadening of the school's

curriculum in establishing a continuity with schools of average educational standing. They want to see a broadening of the curriculum to fit the needs of their kids who in many cases "need special education with which this school traditionally has not been equipped" (8th grade counselor). Wider sports activities, such as introduction of baseball, wider electives, such as industrial arts, business, etc. are being promoted by this group. They view the school as only an American School and do not support any of its international co-characteristics. When a first of the year P.T.O. meeting took place in September of 1982, a parent from this group, addressing the about 200 attendees, mostly newcomers, said that "I thought this is the American School" referring to the school international community and the German national superintendent.

The Technical Third Cultures active camp includes exclusively U.S. citizens. Their organized representation at the school's board of governors, their community--organized involvements at the P.T.O., constant correspondence with the school administration, and the board, are examples of such active involvement.

Host National Community - The Open Door Economic and Social policy of the late President Sadat and the general relaxations of political atmosphere in Egypt brought back many of its citizens who have been residing in the U.S. and Europe. Most of these Egyptians and their children are dual citizens and are economically well situated. They

want an American Education for their children, who, if they have been living in the U.S. are U.S. citizens, with perfect English proficiency. They appear most "Americanized" in their behavior, physical appearance and in their knowledge of the way of life but, yet, they are very proud Egyptians. They have been increasing in numbers in the C.A.C. student community. Most concerns in this group are about wanting an American Prep School type of education for their children, but they do want their children following American modes of behavior. They want to see much more representation of Egyptian social values incorporated into the school. A member of this community who has been serving the board of directors of the P.T.O. strongly feels that the predominantly American emphasis in school, such as clothing, behavior, language and activities, has to be re-evaluated. She does not wish to see her son, who is a junior, adopt such appearances and behavior, but she wants strongly for him to have an American education.

Given these diverse camps of social and educational conviction, and various degrees of active involvement within and about the school, a discussion of how all these changes have emerged should next be made.

Cairo American College was established in 1942 as an American School, serving the American professional overseas resident children of Modern Third Culture parents. From its establishment until the current times it has always admitted other nationals on a space available basis and has

enjoyed this atmosphere of international character. The school financially has been supported mainly by the companies and the U.S. Embassy in Egypt, whose children attended the school. On and off it remained relatively small (see detailed analysis in Chapter IV) until the crisis of the Iranian Revolution, with which came a large influx of both faculty and children.

For many of its years in service, the American school did not enjoy the complexity of its current community, size and diversity of its student body, high standards of its educational staff and availability of resources until the very late 70"s. Lack of large sums of money, size of staff, student and community resulted in maintaining the established philosophy of a small private American prep school in Cairo, preparing its youth for educational continuation in the U.S., or other U.S. international schools around the globe.

This homogeneity in its philosophical foundation and practice was naturally due to its homogeneous parent community, which, until very recent times, was dominated by the U.S., European and Third World National, Modern Third Cultures with their largely homogeneous values and educational expectations.

The influx of U.S. National Technical Third Culture communities into Egypt has mushroomed the student population size and diversity. The original arrivals of Technical Third Culture community members, not being experienced with the overseas American schools, were most

happily relieved to find the existence of such a school and their respective companies at their leadership level were most eager to help the school financially to cope with such sudden growth. It is during this time that large scale construction projects emerged, a new theater, junior high building, art building and a project of a new gymnasium. In addition to physical expansion it is at the same time that this particular community, with its diverse educational needs, finding that the existing school could not meet their needs, challenged - not necessarily intentionally, but just being there with such numbers, - the school for its exclusiveness and offered a financial solution to diversify its curriculum and bring in the personnel to serve the changes.

Cairo American College, beginning of the 1982-83 academic year, entered an era of a fury of activity, expansion, confusion, conflicts of interests and values.

This period may be defined as the rising awareness at the school. Rising awareness of all concerned who eventually shape a significant portion of T.C.K.'s identity. It is this period of rising awareness by the Technical Third Cultures, in their need to maintain the same education for their children here as they would have had in their place of permanent residence. Maintaining a continuity in their children's education is important for maintaining continuity in the identity of their children. There occurred a rise in the need of maintaining their national and

cultural, social and educational identity of their children so that when this discontinuity finishes they can go back to that which they left behind.

It is also an important rise in the awareness of the Egyptian National Community of their national identity, in terms of its social and traditional values. A need to have their children, who have been brought "home" from abroad to be re-integrated into the mainstream of Egyptian heritage partially through incorporating that heritage into the C.A.C. behavioral and social interactional patterns and activities if not into its academic curriculum.

It is also a period of rising awareness by the more traditional Modern Third Cultures in their need to maintain the more established high standard prep school, American international education of their children which they clearly feel is being threatened. Members of this group will remain in overseas living so that they want to see that their children have the continuity of education wherever they go, and thus, increases the need for maintaining American international education.

"Every international, political, or social affair affects the school. C.A.C. has lived through it all. The anti-United States era shrank the school, and forced the student body to be dispersed into the other schools in the region. The Iran crisis expanded the staff, and the student population. The regional conflicts push the school for a "low profile" but, the progressive changes and growth in its community forces the school to such visibility that even the philosophical foundation of the school is challenged."

(a teacher, veteran of 25 years)

"The Cairo American College is an American educational institution providing the finest American education possible in an overseas setting."

(Chairman, The Board of Directors C.A.C.)

The above quotations do reflect the realities of the Cairo American College presently. The diversities in values, attitudes, and expectations of the parent communities are as real as the need for stability and continuity in the face of those realities.

C.A.C. represents an arena of challenge and conflict. The following section will broadly examine those challenges.

#### Psychological Atmosphere of the C.A.C.

During the period starting with the 1981-82 academic year, the superintendent was in the middle of major construction expansion, expansion in the financial input of the school, and the expansion in the student body size and diversity, along with the most immediate need for curriculum re-consideration.

The sudden increase in the student body, in size and diversity, presented two concentrations for the superintendent. One was the needed expansion in the building facilities, and secondly, the need for the review of the existing curriculum in terms of its improvement and

expansion.

In terms of the curriculum, to address the educational needs, and the demands of the community expansion, the comprehensive honors program was institutionalized, with many new advanced placement (AP) courses. This was to satisfy the higher standard educational demands of the modern third culture parents. The introduction and expansion of the industrial arts education, business education, and the equal expansion in the school sports activities, including baseball, little league and handball, were introduced to satisfy the broader educational needs of the Technical Third Culture children, who will further pursue their secondary education in the United States. Expansion in special education for the slow learners, and the enrichment programs for the accelerated learners were introduced in the elementary level. Expansion in the Egypt culture classes and after school activities were introduced at the same time.

These changes in the curriculum, resulting from the demands of the parent community, necessitated that new attention be given to the faculty recruitment and development. "The curriculum and the teaching staff of the school has become compartmentalized, specialized and polarized," comments a junior high history teacher who taught at the school for 25 years, adding; "Now the specialized needs have to be met. We did not have this before. There was homogeneity. We are so pluralized now, there is no



cohesiveness." Naturally this is one outcome of the change. Diversities in student input necessitate diversification in the educational programs. The superintendent attempts to satisfy all the needs, but maintains the established standards of prep-school education. As the school's curriculum expanded to include metal shop, industrial drawing, crafts and typing, this expansion also included expansion in the honors programs in English, Science, Math, and the Social Studies.

The faculty recruitment has expanded in inclusion of the teachers who can both satisfy the honors programs, and the specialized educational courses and services provided by the school. A continuity within the curriculum objectives of the departments was attempted to maintain a continuity with 25-30 percent of teacher turn-over annually. Attempts are underway to bring down the high turn-over, not only among the faculty, but the administration as well.

The above highly generalized overview of the challenges that were faced by C.A.C. at the beginning of the academic year 1982-1983 gives one a picture of the state of affairs, and activity at the school.

A more detailed look at the characteristics of norms, and the patterns of the interactions, constitute the particulars of that generalized picture.

The following analysis will examine the conflicts and the consensus of the patterns of interaction.

### The Nature of Communication

The definitional characteristics of the parent communities, and their particular norms, as they were presented in this research, are not defined the same way at a conscious level by the community, or by the school itself. Diversities of norms are largely faced at individual levels, and are seen as diversities at that level. The pressures from the different camps are reacted to by the school in terms of some need satisfaction or change. But, because the expansion in the parent community is very immediate, the comprehensive evaluation of the situation will take longer than the current academic year.

The parent community of the school may communicate their norms and values through several channels. Some of these channels are much more institutionalized than others, and their effectiveness vary as well.

One of the institutionalized bodies is the Board of Directors, or "School Board." Consisting of from 6 to 11 members, according to policy, membership is self-perpetuating, with candidates being largely drawn from the major financial as well as student sources in the community. Traditionally the American Embassy as well as the American University in Cairo, have held seats. At present, the oil and defense contract sectors hold the largest block, with four seats. Two "community" members are also seated from the P.T.O. membership, but these, like all

other seats, are subject to confirmation by the sitting board. The Board meets monthly on a regular basis, as well as ad hoc when needed. Its primary function is selection and evaluation of the School Superintendent. He sets the agenda for meetings, and is actively a part of all executive sessions. Board meetings are not open to the public, but questions can be brought "through channels" to the Board's attention. In practical fact, both the parent and the faculty communities feel distant from the Board. The Board makes few efforts to communicate outside itself, leaving this role to the school's administration, a role not really effectively carried out at present, due in part to C.A.C.'s crisis of both growth and direction.

The second institutionalized body for communication is the Parent Teacher Organization, the P.T.O. All parents and faculty at C.A.C. are eligible for membership in the P.T.O., which is defined as a volunteer group serving the school as a source of advice as well as practical resource help for the school and its curricular and extracurricular programs. The P.T.O. meets monthly for an evening meeting at which topics of mutual interest are presented and/or discussed. In addition, special annual programs, such as an International Dinner, and a Career Night for the High School are sponsored. Historically and currently the P.T.O. has been largely supported by the American parents, with secondary support from Egyptian parents with U.S. experience. Third world parents give almost no support, in

part because such parent involvement with schooling is not typical in the non-Western, or non-European world. Due largely to the dominant decision-making position of the School Board, many parents choose not to support the P.T.O. as they feel it is ineffective as a meaningful tool of communication among parents, faculty, and the school's administration.

In addition to these two potential channels for organized communication, at a personal level, interactions with the school are conducted daily. Here, personalities play a great role. Aggressive, active personalities, who feel extremely motivated by a particular issue with which they are concerned, do interact through personal meetings, or written communications. The company representatives may communicate their concerns with the heads of their companies, who in some cases may be members of the board or P.T.O. officers. Nationalities do play an important role, in that, as it was previously discussed, some nationalities such as U.S. nationals, view themselves as a functional part of the school's affairs and operations, while others, such as the Third World Nationals, do not get involved with such operations. Yet, they are all very concerned and active participants in their children's education at an individual level. The number of students a company may have in the school, or the amount of financial aid provided by a company to the school, also constitute significant reasons for lobbying for causes, and concerns, including

such changes as would make recruitment of new employees easier.

Most communications with the school by the parent communities are made at individual levels, particularly through personal appointments with the Superintendent or the school principals. As of the current academic year, (1983) when this study was conducted, the parents, in general, are not aware at a communal level, that the concerns they have, whatever they may be, constitute a similarity with other parents who are in the same parent community with them. This brings us to the communication links among the parents at a linear level.

Parents, due to their diverse life styles, and lack of communication networks, do not have effective interactional avenues with each other. Daily coping with problems, cultural and social class differentiations, and company affiliations, interfere with a unified parent community. Previous discussions on parent communities do give us this picture.

As the student and the parent community expands, and the school expands as a response to it, structural complexities of bureaucracy and, the disjointed networks of communications become the natural outcome for the school. The nature of the interaction with the parent communities from the standpoint of the school represents the same complexities as the community itself.

One structural change in the school, as a reaction to the community's demands, is bureaucratic complexity. As

the school gets more bureaucratic, as a result of broadened curriculum, and extracurricular programs and activities, and the specialized services and faculty, the less it becomes a comprehensively communicating whole. "It became more secretive" (says an eight grade counselor). This is one interpretation of that broadened communicational network that does not communicate effectively.

When this occurs, where the internal and formal communication links are not effective--suspicion, mistrust or non-involvement become the nature of the interactions. This is the case at C.A.C. "Administrators do abuse their positions and put a great deal of pressure on the teachers. They know that the teachers who have a great deal to lose in breaking their contracts, go along with changes that they do not particularly agree with" (8th grade counselor). The teachers at C.A.C. in this period of sudden expansion are put under pressures of expanded responsibilities, both academic and bureaucratic. "Those who feel very strongly about the particular issues do not get involved. They just go to their classes and do their job. If they get involved, they will lose their jobs" (a teacher). Again internally, turnover and policy changes add to the professional insecurities. These changes are the curriculum and administrative operational changes. Because the changes did occur as a reaction, it is felt by many of the teachers that they are not "comprehensive," i.e., there is no philosophy that unifies the changes. The high turnover in

the faculty and the administrative bodies contributed further to these constant policy changes, and resultant insecurities.

"Personalities play a great role, not only in the operation of the school, but also in staff hiring and firing, so the teachers do not get involved" (a teacher). The teachers in general feel this expressed insecurity vis-a-vis the school administration. They come overseas by giving up their jobs and homes. In a given moment the teachers cannot risk this job and move on to another one so they are intimidated in their effectiveness. Certain positions in the administration were thought to be "spying" positions, where most constructive criticisms of the system can be wrongly evaluated and passed on to the higher positions to be used against that teacher. "Personalities and their patterns of interactions are more important than the rules and regulations or the policies of the school" (a teacher). The importance of personalities is partially a carry over from the periods when the school was small and homogeneous, where the school staff did 'deal at a very personal level like a family" (a teacher of 15 years at C.A.C.). But, it is also the result of the period of confusion and growth. The policy and procedures of the school were first established in the academic year of 1982-83.

"The school has become more diversified, with no constructive workable dialogue existing among teachers" (a

French teacher, Egyptian national). "Nationality cliques are a reality, where the Egyptian national teachers do not have any out-of-school social contacts, or in school dialogues with U.S. national teachers (an Egyptian teacher). However, such segmentation along nationality lines was not observed by most of the other teachers, neither the Egyptian nor the U.S. national. Sporadic observations were made, but are not generalizable.

The enlargement of the school's operations did bring in new diversity among the teachers, even if along nationality lines. "We used to know each other well, now I see teachers I have never seen before" (25 years veteran teacher).

Given the current internal state of C.A.C., what is the nature of the communication patterns between the school and the community?

First it is appropriate to look at the nature of the concerns raised by the parent communities. The norms and values and the educational expectations of the various parent camps have already been described. Here, are some examples of the expression of those values and expectations will be examined in terms of the conflicts and changes they present to the school, the community, and therefore, finally for the identity of the T.C.K.

Collectively, a certain portion of the concerns raised with the school do not in general represent a particular academic or other educational issue, but, rise out of the daily frustrations, coping and adaptations to the local



culture, or even to the general atmosphere of the school. "They are acting out of the frustrations they have in living here" comments an administrator. Concerns over such things as: whether or not their children should walk to the school in terms of safety; existence of rabid dogs in Maadi; should the children eat and drink the materials sold at the small stands near the school. These are a few very small examples of such issues.

Some of these issues are not even to be dealt with by the school. But, particularly for the Technical Third Culture, and some of the Newcomer Modern Third Culture members, such issues constitute concerns to be addressed by the school because they see the school as the community institution to which they relate large portions of their life experiences in Cairo.

The concerns of the above camps of the parent community raise a number of issues concerning the living environment of the school or the local setting.

The Third World Nationals, whose life styles may not have changed a great deal by coming to Egypt, do generally know how to cope with such issues privately and do not raise them with the school. This is partially the result of their non-communal relations with the school.

Egyptian nationals, on the other hand, are largely concerned with the conflicts the foreign community members in total present themselves in their modes of behavior and physical appearance and cultural values with the traditions

and the social values of the local culture. Egyptian parents are concerned not how the children should come to school, but how they should be dressed when they come to the school.

Other issues which are raised by the parent communities do relate to affairs of the school not directly involved with educational issues, but do nevertheless, involve the larger affairs of the school.

On the one hand, U.S. national parents, both of the Modern Third Culture and the Technical Third Cultures, are concerned with the safety and the security of the school. Regional political instabilities and political actions against U.S. nationals internationally, raise very significant concerns and questions for them. Among such concerns are the daily safety and security of the school and its evacuation policies.

Third World National community members' concerns generally center about the particulars of their children's academic performance in their courses and classes. Concerns for their children's adaptation of more alien modes of behavior and clothing, or language, vis-a-vis their own traditional values, are handled at the family levels, and are not brought up at the school level. Their larger concern is for obtaining American education for their children.

How are these concerns communicated to the school? One way, of course, is direct contact.

The daily operations of the school are, therefore, interrupted by parent questions, needs, complaints and suggestions. Depending on the particular issues, the concern is evaluated within the functions of the school and/or its position in the community. How they are handled would range from on the spot remedies; such as assuring the concerned parent that her children can drink from the water fountain in the school, to more reserved decisions which have to be handled at the board, and the administrative levels, such as the possible admission of the children of a deposed political figure to the school.

Private problems, or the problems rising out of daily living that in many cases are taken up by the school, constitute the largest daily interactions of the parents with the school at an individual level. This is the major communal role of the school overseas, which represents a large portion of its daily routines.

The communities do certainly interact with the school on more educational issues, and its policy and procedures. Sponsorship and nationality power politics play a more significant role here, than the individual roles played on daily concerns raised previously. A complex relationship of the school exists, with both the U.S. diplomatic mission, and the Egyptian government, other diplomatic missions, and the large variety of sponsorship communities, in terms of the political and educational position of the

school. The educational and the procedural issues are considered at these institutional levels. For example, international and regional politics do have an effect on the particular admission policy and considerations. Educational, and all other policy pressures of a given sponsorship, or a national group, whose power position with the school in terms either of the financial support, and/or the size of its student representation at the school are substantially significant.

The final consideration in this connection should be given to the effectiveness and the psychological make up of the communication networks between the school and the parent communities.

Current growth both in the parent community and the school do certainly affect constructive and effective communications among them. The factions and insecurities that exist among the staff of the school are certainly reflected among the parent community itself. Parents who bring their concerns to the P.T.O. meetings have a general feeling of their not being addressed by the school on these concerns. They feel they are not seeing the people they want to see, or that when the school responds to their concerns they are superficial and temporary. The school, on the other hand, feels that they are faced with such complexities that it is natural for the individual concerns to be neglected without intending to.

But, the issue is complex and dynamic. The community

and the school are in a stage of such chaos that if one can best summarize the situation one has to say that the considerations at hand, and the corresponding changes instituted to meet the demands, are essentially reactive at the present, not comprehensive and structurally based on a solid philosophical definitude. But, it is also very easy to challenge the consideration that a definite, clear and unifying philosophy can and should be established.

The basic theme of this research has been the dynamism and the complexity of the identities of the Third Culture Communities and their children. The school that serves and interacts with that cannot be conceived as stable and static. Yet, some sort of stability and continuity is needed for a school to maintain a position and a meaning in such dynamism.

The following final section in this chapter will address itself to where the future direction of C.A.C. lies.

#### C.A.C. Current and Future Considerations

In the light of new changes, the school's values and philosophy have to be re-evaluated in terms of both its educational policy and procedures and, its multiple roles in the community.

One consideration, of course, could be in terms of its admission policies. This relates to the school's established position as to which community it should serve. In this consideration, the school may decide to take several directions:

1. Establishment of a more narrow admission policy, whereby its already existing private status would be further restricted to include only certain standards of academic performance, thus, not admitting those below the standard, regardless of the student's nationality. This is a practiced consideration currently, not applicable to U.S. nationals, but it is applicable to other nationals. Within this consideration, maintaining a certain higher standard prep school status could be accomplished.
2. Restricting the admission to all U.S. nationals exclusive of all others and maintaining the currently developing diversity within its educational standards of expectations. This change would narrow some of the diversities, but the polarization of educational expectations would remain.
3. To change the school to become more of an international institution, with more of a pluralistic international curriculum, and student body with reduction in its Americanness could be another consideration.
4. To maintain the current status of the school with greater concentration of effort to make it more comprehensive and unified.

A detailed analysis of the above proposals, in terms of their strengths and weaknesses, will not be made here as

not being necessary for the scope of this research.

The direction most likely to be followed will be the fourth proposal. Continuous re-examination of the departmental curriculum policies, inter-departmental links, even the establishment of the first policy and procedures of the school, at the beginning of the 1982-83 academic year, indicate examples of such efforts. Staff continuity, and reduction in turnover are being examined with particular emphasis on administrative continuity. Further re-examination of the nature of the structure and operations of the school board, and the effectiveness of P.T.O. are being considered with broader parental awareness and participation.

In light of all that is being considered in this chapter, the following list of issues are offered as considerations. There is not one first aid kit to help the educational needs of the international schools. The complexity of the issues are real and the awareness of that existence is also developing. This research is only one example of such awareness.

The following list is compiled as each point being a separate consideration. But, their interlockedness is there:

1. Reevaluation of the impact of overseas life on children, as individual personalities and collective identities, should continue to be researched at interdisciplinary levels within the

social sciences. Their identities and education should continue to be examined. Curriculum, administrative procedures, admission policies, teaching materials and teacher training, cannot be considered for those children, and the international institutions they go to, without particular and proper emphasis on international migratory living circumstances.

2. The marginality status of overseas communities need continuous research.
3. The psychological, cognitive, and social implications of a migratory life style; its perceptions, and personality structures need further research.
4. Technological innovations in communication should be utilized for broader communication links among international educational institutions. The transfer of knowledge, broader awareness and understanding, sharing of experiences and knowledge itself can be possible by this link. Global communication networks are an integral part of all international relations. Therefore their inclusion in the international educational considerations is natural.
5. Not only teacher training in major Western Nations should be inclusive of their potential service in the international arena, but their hiring procedures for such international institutions



should also be inclusive of such experiences, world outlook and training.

6. International mobility is a fact, but who should be working in the international fields, is a very important consideration for nation states and multinational corporations. A continuity is needed between the philosophical foundation and admission policies of the international schools, and the personnel transfer policies of the nations and the companies. This is necessary because the children are "shipped" with the household like a suitcase and that cry is very important.
7. Current and future educators have to examine the possibility of establishment of international educational institutions as separate from any nation state in terms of philosophy and practice. The nation states of the world, and the multinational corporations, should consider the potential advantages of such educational institutions. These will promote the education of cultural mediators, and the future citizens of the world in pluralistic international socio-cultural values, and a global approach to curriculum with intercultural heterogeneity. Such schools do not have to replace the more national, international schools, but would be established for better inter-cultural understanding. Chand (1979) feels

that "National schools with their nationalistic goals have not aimed at educating the new types of post-modern man."

8. The expansion in the internationally mobile work force necessitates new considerations in the definition of international education. One such consideration is the area of school counseling. One counselor at C.A.C. reports his inadequacy in this matter: "I don't know how to deal with the particular personal problems of the female third world nationals. Culturally, I really don't know them well enough to help with their problems stemming from their opposite sex friendships and family conflicts."
9. International schools administrative procedures, such as the transfer of student records to other international schools, presently have no continuity and standardization. Transfer of faculty among international schools also does not rely on any mutually agreeable procedures.
10. Teacher and administrator salary considerations, retirement, insurance and other personal guarantees and security are not standardized with a proper link with the respective nation states.
11. Accountability is a very important consideration for the international schools. Duality of their roles, as being attached to a given nation state,

and their international status, are a potential and practical source of many of the problems considered in this chapter.

12. The role of the international schools in their relations to the community has to be comprehensively analyzed. The changes in the nature of the communities, and their educational implications, are considered in the example of C.A.C. How open or closed should an educational institution be to the community it serves? This is a significant issue for its operation.
13. The private international schools such as C.A.C. have to re-examine the nature of their Boards of Directors, in terms of the latter's representational position in the community, and the school. The communication links through the school board are vital links in the community.
14. According to interview comments by the three counselors at C.A.C., "Individual student, parent, and educational problems are not handled comprehensively within the context of international living." This of course raises the consciousness of the issues at hand.
15. It has been raised by the teachers in interviews that their needs and problems are not effectively handled. When the new teachers are hired and arrive at Cairo they do not go through a

comprehensive orientation program. Attempts are made clearly by the school to make their initial adaptation more comfortable. At C.A.C. teacher housing is arranged in advance, and the teachers are matched with the members of the parent communities for a two day orientation in daily living considerations. The school, in addition, has a program for orienting them to the school, and to its system of operation. But, nevertheless, what the teachers express in this connection as insufficiency relates to a larger issue as well.

The structural philosophy of the school, and levels of awareness of the parent communities, do not see the position of the teachers within the international living context. Teachers are the members of an international community as well as the parents. They also share the anxieties of being displaced, and have adaptation and coping problems. They experience isolation. Socially, they do not share similar living status in Egypt as the parents. They do not share their representational role and their privileges. They are looked upon by the parents as part of that service community that manages their lives. This is certainly not done at a conscious level by the parent community, but is nonetheless shared as feelings by the teachers.

## CONCLUSIONS

The development of Third Cultures, beginning with the colonial period, through to the current trends of Technical Third Cultures, indicates the complexity, and ever-evolving nature of such communities. This complexity is naturally reflective of the socio-economic, and political changes of the relationships between societies and their resultant mediating Third Cultures. In the future, developments in the very nature of relationships of Third Cultures will reflect the emerging relationships of future societies as well as cultures.

The consciousness of Third Cultures in theoretical conceptualizations such as this work, reflect the need for new dimensions in the social science approach to the study of human interaction. Ever expanding cross-cultural relationships reflect the normative nature of modern man's mobility. Thus, international physical mobility of individuals does not make for marginality but ways are created to handle these threats, of this new relationship.

The emerging identities of dependent Third Culture youth are a natural outgrowth of such relationships. These identities far exceed the existing social science theoretical definitions of the identity paradigms. Third Culture Children are as real as the children of any single nation but, short of the more broad paradigms and conceptualizations concerning their nature. It is in this nature where the future need for research exists in all

branches of the social sciences. The sheer numbers of TCK's will continue to grow, multiplying if only through the off-spring of the Third Culture members themselves.

Yet, this growth is not likely to be only from future family expansion. Multi-national corporations and businesses, regional work force exchanges, and the diversified relationships among nation states, all contribute to the on-going expansion in size and complexity of Third Cultures.

It is this researcher's strong and urgent feeling that socialization, personality, education, emotion and cognition, are but a few of the areas of theoretical consideration where a great deal of need for research lies ahead.

The above areas for potential research will not only contribute to a better understanding of Third Cultures, but also will further expand existing knowledge in the social sciences of man in primary cultures as well. Third Cultures can be said to represent the whole of the history of human interactional patterns, but in a highly compressed and urgent fashion. What the man of primary cultures has gone through over centuries of cross-cultural relations, is being experienced by Third Culture members with great speed and complexity. In cognitions, emotions, and interpersonal relationships, no time is set aside for theoretical or individual level reflections. All of man's previous times and experiences, as well as his future, are

to be experienced right here and now. To understand and define this in social science theorization is where the contribution to understanding of future selves and cross-cultural relations will be centered.

Finally, one must recognize the coping of these internationally mobile youth, day-to-day at one of a continuum, and life-long at the other, who are caught up in these new patterns and relationships. One can only extend a warm welcome to these men and women of the future, who can be seen on the streets of Cairo wearing a T-shirt which bears the message:

" I'm not a TOURIST, I LIVE HERE! "

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